# BIOGRAPHIC MATERIAL OF SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE

A. General Background

First two pages are background.

Pages 3 - 5 are Profiles of the Senators

B. Biographies of Members of Senate Select Committee

Detailed background, if desired as reference, begins at Page 6.

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On The Floor

# SENATE APPROVES INVESTIGATION OF CIA, FBI

**Senate—Jan. 27, by an 82-4 vote, adopted S Res 21, establishing a Select Committee To Study Government Operations With Respect To Intelligence Activities.**

With general agreement expressed that it was necessary to restore public confidence in federal intelligence and law enforcement agencies in the wake of allegations of illegal or improper activities by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the Senate authorized an 11-member panel to conduct a comprehensive examination of all federal agencies having responsibility in those areas.

In Senate debate Jan. 27, John O. Pastore (D R.I.) said the resolution's authority was broad enough to include a review of the investigative activities of the Senate's own Internal Security Subcommittee—an arm of the Judiciary Committee—as well as any other Senate panel.

S Res 21 gave the select committee broad powers to determine whether the CIA, FBI or any of the 58 other U.S. law enforcement and intelligence agencies had engaged in "illegal, improper or unethical activities" as charged in several newspaper reports published in late 1974 and 1975.

The committee was given until Sept. 1, 1975, to submit a final report on its investigation to the Senate.

The panel, which was given an authorization of $750,000 under the resolution to conduct its inquiry, also was expected to determine 1) whether existing laws governing intelligence and law enforcement operations were adequate, 2) whether present congressional oversight of the agencies was satisfactory and 3) the extent to which overt and covert intelligence activities in the United States and abroad were necessary. *(Committee's mandate, box p. 241)*

Creation of the select committee marked the first time Congress had approved a thorough probe of the activities of the post-World War II intelligence community. Although the CIA was established by the National Security Act 27 years ago, Congress had either rejected or ignored nearly 200 legislative proposals to strengthen its oversight of the agency.

The House and Senate Armed Services and Appropriations Committees oversight function had long been criticized as inadequate by members calling for tougher supervision. Those committees, usually headed by the most senior members in each chamber, were said to be too sympathetic to the military and intelligence establishments. *(CIA background, 1974 Weekly Report p. 3277)*

## Charges Against CIA, FBI

The Senate's decision to establish a select committee was prompted by charges published by *The New York Times* Dec. 22 that the CIA had violated its charter and spied on U.S. citizens during the 1960s—at the height of the Vietnam war—and by reports disclosed by *The Washington Post* that the FBI maintained derogatory files on members of Congress. *(CIA charges, 1974 Weekly Report p. 3455; FBI charges, p. 182)*

## House Select Committee

A seven member ad hoc committee chaired by Robert N. Giaimo (D Conn.) Jan. 29 unanimously recommended that the House set up its own select committee to investigate allegations of improper CIA and FBI activities. The proposal must be approved by the House Democratic Steering and Policy Committee and the caucus of the House's 289 Democrats and then voted on by the whole House. The caucus is expected to meet on the proposal Feb. 5. House approval appeared assured after Lucien N. Nedzi (D Mich.), chairman of the Armed Services Subcommittee on Intelligence which has primary jurisdiction over the CIA, concurred in the need for a broadly representative committee to review federal intelligence operations. The select committee was also endorsed by Minority Leader John J. Rhodes (R Ariz.).

"The FBI, the CIA and military intelligence agencies are absolutely necessary to the security and the survival of this great republic," Pastore, the resolution's floor manager, emphasized at the outset of the Senate debate. "Having said that," Pastore added, "I must in all fairness say that there have been some very serious abuses [by the agencies]."

## Committee Members

After the vote, Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D Mont.) appointed the following six Democrats to serve on the committee: Philip A. Hart (Mich.), Walter F. Mondale (Minn.), Walter (Dee) Huddleston (Ky.), Robert B. Morgan (N.C.), Gary W. Hart (Colo.) and Frank Church (Idaho), who was elected chairman by the Democratic members Jan. 28. Church considers himself a critic of some CIA operations. For example, he opposed CIA involvement in Chile. "It seemed to me we had no business interfering with a government that had been freely elected in Chile," he has said. *(CIA role in Chile, 1974 Weekly Report p. 2568; profile, p. 243)*

> *"The important thing here is to restore public confidence so that these agencies, in the final analysis, will be responsive.... We are not here to rebuke any member of Congress for what supervision he gave or did not give."*
>
> —Sen. John O. Pastore (D R.I.)

The five Republican members named by Minority Leader Hugh Scott (Pa.) were: Barry Goldwater (Ariz.),

# Committee Given Broad Authority to Conduct Probe

Following is the text of Section 2 of S Res 21, as adopted by the Senate Jan. 27, authorizing a Senate select committee to investigate the operations of the CIA, FBI and other federal law enforcement and intelligence agencies:

Sec. 2. The select committee is authorized and directed to do everything necessary or appropriate to make the investigations and study specified in subsection (a) of the first section. Without abridging in any way the authority conferred upon the select committee by the preceding sentence, the Senate further expressly authorizes and directs the select committee to make a complete investigation and study of the activities of any agency or of any and all persons or groups of persons or organizations of any kind which have any tendency to reveal the full facts with respect to the following matters or questions:

(1) Whether the Central Intelligence Agency has conducted an illegal domestic intelligence operation in the United States.

(2) The conduct of domestic intelligence or counterintelligence operations against United States citizens by the Federal Bureau of Investigation or any other Federal agency.

(3) The origin and disposition of the so-called Huston Plan to apply United States intelligence agency capabilities against individuals or organizations within the United States.

(4) The extent to which the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Central Intelligence Agency, and other Federal law enforcement or intelligence agencies coordinate their respective activities, any agreements which govern that coordination, and the extent to which a lack of coordination has contributed to activities or actions which are illegal, improper, inefficient, unethical, or contrary to the intent of Congress.

(5) The extent to which the operation of domestic intelligence or counterintelligence activities and the operation of any other activities within the United States by the Central Intelligence Agency conforms to the legislative charter of that Agency and the intent of the Congress.

(6) The past and present interpretation by the Director of Central Intelligence of the responsibility to protect intelligence sources and methods as it relates to the provision in section 102(d) (3) of the National Security Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 403(d) (3) ) that "...that the agency shall have no police, subpena, law enforcement powers, or internal security functions...."

(7) Nature and extent of executive branch oversight of all United States intelligence activities.

(8) The need for specific legislative authority to govern the operations of any intelligence agencies of the Federal Government now existing without that explicit statutory authority, including but not limited to agencies such as the Defense Intelligence Agency and the National Security Agency.

The nature and extent to which Federal agencies cooperate and exchange intelligence information and the adequacy of any regulations or statutes which govern such cooperation and exchange of intelligence information.

(9) The extent to which United States intelligence agencies are governed by Executive orders, rules, or regulations either published or secret and the extent to which those Executive orders, rules, or regulations interpret, expand, or are in conflict with specific legislative authority.

(10) The violation or suspected violation of any State or Federal statute by any intelligence agency or by any person by or on behalf of any intelligence agency of the Federal Government including but not limited to surreptitious entries, surveillance, wiretaps, or eavesdropping, illegal opening of the United States mail, or the monitoring of the United States mail.

(11) The need for improved, strengthened, or consolidated oversight of United States Intelligence activities by the Congress.

(12) Whether any of the existing laws of the United States are inadequate, either in their provisions or manner of enforcement to safeguard the rights of American citizens, to improve executive and legislative control of intelligence and related activities, and to resolve uncertainties as to the authority of United States intelligence and related agencies.

(13) Whether there is unnecessary duplication of expenditure and effort in the collection and processing of intelligence information by United States agencies.

(14) The extent and necessity of overt and covert intelligence activities in the United States and abroad.

(15) Such other related matters as the committee deems necessary in order to carry out its responsibilities under section (a).

Howard H. Baker Jr. (Tenn.), Richard S. Schweiker (Pa.), Charles McC. Mathias Jr. (Md.) and John G. Tower (Texas), who was chosen vice chairman of the committee.

The composition of the committee had been at issue when the Democratic caucus voted Jan. 20 to establish an ad hoc committee to carry out the investigation, rather than leave it to the Armed Services Committee chaired by John C. Stennis (D Miss.). Pastore argued that a probe conducted by members who weren't "polarized or sympathetic" to the CIA was needed. "I don't want the extremes of both sides to participate," he added.

Before the final vote on the resolution, Goldwater, who along with Tower was considered closest to the defense and intelligence establishments of those appointed to the committee, addressed himself to the question of holding public hearings: "Most of the senators and staff who are going to serve on the committee are not thoroughly familiar with the organization and the functions of the intelligence community. Before any decision on open hearings is made, I would hope the members and staff would have ample opportunity to do some homework."

Before appointing the Democratic members, Mansfield told the Senate: "There can be no whitewash in this inquiry nor is there room for a vendetta" against the CIA or FBI. And Baker, urging fairness by the committee, said: "This resolution charters neither a whitewash nor a witch hunt."

### Vote on S Res 21

On the 82-4 vote, the four senators voting against the resolution were William Lloyd Scott (R Va.), Jesse A. Helms (R N.C.), Herman E. Talmadge (D Ga.) and Strom Thurmond (R S.C.). Except for Talmadge, the Democrats who had voted against the select committee proposal in the party caucus Jan. 20 voted for S Res 21. They were: Harry F. Byrd Jr. (Ind Va.), Howard W. Cannon (Nev.), James O. Eastland (Miss.), Sam Nunn (Ga.), John L. McClellan (Ark.) and Stennis. *(Vote 1, p. 239)*

## Floor Action

Although no opposition was expressed to setting up the select committee during general debate in the Senate,

# Members Appointed to Senate Select Committee

*Frank Church*
*(D Idaho)*

*Chairman*

*John G. Tower*
*(R Texas)*

*Vice Chairman*

Philip A. Hart
(D Mich.)

Walter F. Mondale
(D Minn.)

Walter (Dee) Huddleston
(D Ky.)

Robert B. Morgan
(D N.C.)

Gary W. Hart
(D Colo.)

Howard H. Baker Jr.
(R Tenn.)

Barry Goldwater
(R Ariz.)

Charles McC. Mathias Jr.
(R Md.)

Richard S. Schweiker
(R Pa.)

several members offered specific suggestions as to how the inquiry should be conducted.

• Goldwater said the focus of the inquiry should be on the National Security Act of 1947, which created the intelligence agencies to be investigated. The committee, he said, should have two prime objectives: to determine whether or not the 1947 act needs revision and to determine whether or not illegal activities had taken place within the intelligence community.

"If surgery is required [on the agencies], let it be performed only after the most careful diagnosis," Goldwater said. "And, if there is surgery, let us use a very sharp scalpel—not a meat axe."

• Mark O. Hatfield (R Ore.), who offered an amendment to extend the probe to "any committees or subcommittees of Congress," withdrew it after receiving assurances from Pastore that the committee could investigate the activities of the Internal Security Subcommittee or any other Senate panel. The subcommittee, Hatfield said, maintained files on individuals "that could be considered as suspicious."

"We should be doubly concerned about the procedures used by one of our own subcommittees.... I, for one, am not satisfied with the answers I received from the chief clerk of that subcommittee...," Hatfield explained. *(Use of FBI agents by congressional committees, CQ Guide to Congress, p. 161)*

• Maintaining that there were 60 federal agencies with intelligence or investigative responsibilities, Baker said "there is one thing that we need to do...to make sure that [they were]...under somebody's control." The former member of the Senate Watergate committee suggested that "one of the major undertakings of this committee ought to be to talk to the last surviving ex-president we have [Nixon] and to examine the records that are available to us to determine whether or not the president of the United States knows what is going on in the CIA, the DIA [Defense Intelligence Agency] and the FBI."

Baker, however, noted that former President Harry S Truman "declined to grant certain information after he left office, but I think we ought to try [with Nixon]."

• Alan Cranston (D Calif.) maintained that the investigation could not succeed without determining the individuals who may have been responsible for illegal and improper acts. "While the select committee's investigation must not degenerate into a witch hunt, it cannot be a picnic, either," he said. "Individuals and agencies involved in wrongdoing or questionable practices must be identified. Or else the American people will be ill served by another coverup."

• Tower, who explained that he initially preferred the inquiry to be conducted by the Armed Services Committee, called for holding the committee's sessions in private. "We can elicit more information and more significant and more penetrating and in-depth information if we go into executive session."

Cranston, however, disagreed. "Some have stated this investigation must not be a 'TV spectacular.' But it must not be conducted behind closed doors either.... There is no good reason why questions of policy in the intelligence community cannot be discussed in open hearings, and all facts bared—except for the most sensitive...."

### Amendments

Before approving the resolution, the Senate by voice votes adopted three amendments, none of which altered the scope of the committee probe.

• To prevent "leaks" of information gathered by the panel, the Senate approved with modification a proposal offered by Stennis requiring the committee to adopt rules and procedures prohibiting disclosure of information relating to intelligence agencies which was not authorized by the select committee. The amendment also called for committee rules to prevent disclosure of any information which would adversely affect the intelligence activities of any federal agency in foreign countries.

• A second amendment, offered by Tower, required employees of the committee to have security clearances before reviewing classified material. The select committee would determine what staff members would receive clearances.

• The final amendment, offered by Hatfield, prohibited persons employed by the committee from receiving honoraria for a book, article or speaking engagement "connected with the investigation and study undertaken by this committee."

## Profiles of Committee Members

Following are brief biographies of the 11 senators appointed to the select committee.

**Frank Church (D Idaho)**—Entered the Senate in 1957; he is a member of the Foreign Relations and Interior and Insular Affairs Committees, chairman of the Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations.

A former Army intelligence officer who served in China, Burma and India during World War II, Church was one of the Senate's most outspoken critics of the Vietnam war. In 1970 he and Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R Ky.) sponsored a controversial amendment to prohibit the continued deployment of U.S. ground troops in Cambodia. Introduced in the wake of the invasion of Cambodia by U.S. troops ordered by President Nixon, the amendment touched off a six-month debate over whether Congress could use its budget authority to limit the President's war-making powers. The amendment was approved in revised form later that year.

In 1973 Church's Multinational Corporations Subcommittee, created in 1972, conducted widely publicized hearings into the role of the CIA in efforts to block the 1970 election of Marxist candidate Salvador Allende Gossens as president of Chile. Testimony revealed that former CIA Director John A. McCone, as a director of the International Telephone and Telegraph Corp., had offered ITT funds to then CIA Director Richard Helms to help block Allende's election. ITT held $160-million in investments in Chile at the time. In its report to the full committee, the subcommittee criticized both ITT and the CIA and called for tougher oversight of the agency by Congress and the executive. Allende was assassinated in a coup by the Chilean military in 1973, and the select committee is certain to investigate the agency's role in that affair.

Church is beginning his fourth term in the Senate.

**John G. Tower (R Texas)**—Entered the Senate in 1961, and re-elected in 1966 and 1972; he was the first Republican elected to the Senate from Texas since 1870 and the first since Reconstruction from a Confederate state. A member of the Senate Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee, Armed Services Committee and Joint Committee on Defense Production, Tower is also chairman of the Senate Republican Policy Committee.

"He has worked to keep this nation's defense strong," Tower's own biography states. In 1969, he led the Senate

fight for funding the Safeguard ABM System, which was approved by a one-vote margin. He was given a 100 per cent rating for supporting defense programs in 1974 by the American Security Council, a lobby organization that opposes cutbacks in military programs. Tower considers himself "a spokesman for returning power to state and local governments" and for a constitutional amendment to prohibit compulsory school busing.

**Other Democrats.** With the retirement of Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D N.C., 1954-1975), Philip A. Hart (D Mich.) emerges as the Senate's strongest champion of civil liberties. Following President Nixon's 1974 State of the Union message proposing new controls to protect citizen privacy, Hart issued a pointed response calling on Nixon to "live up to the rhetoric." He criticized Nixon for emphasizing the threat of technology to privacy, saying the President should have instead avowed that "the label 'national security' will not be used again to hide or excuse illegal acts." In the wake of 1974 reports that the CIA had participated in the overthrow of Allende, Hart in September, before the charges of domestic spying were reported, argued for greater congressional oversight.

A drop-out from the 1976 presidential race, Walter F. Mondale (D Minn.) is a liberal with a strong record in support of improving government social programs. To that end, he has advocated reallocation of space and military resources to domestic needs, and has called for a lower American profile abroad. He supported most end-the-Vietnam-war efforts in the Senate in the 1960s and early 1970s and was himself the sponsor in 1973 of an amendment to end U.S. military activity in Cambodia. He has since worked to reduce U.S. troop levels abroad and cut military spending. A strong civil rights advocate, Mondale has drawn national attention for his fights for open housing and school desegregation. He has also been known as a strong consumer advocate and played a key role in passage of the truth-in-lending, truth-in-packaging and auto safety laws.

Walter (Dee) Huddleston (D Ky.) won election to the Senate in 1972. A moderate, he supported legislation in 1973 to limit the president's authority to wage war. Huddleston is on the Government Operations Committee and in 1974 served on Sen. Henry M. Jackson's subcommittee investigating the role of the major oil corporations in precipitating the energy crisis.

Gary W. Hart (D Colo.) and Robert B. Morgan (D N.C.) are both freshmen. Hart unseated Peter H. Dominick (R Colo., 1963-1975), a conservative whom Hart tied closely to the Nixon administration's policies. Morgan was the state's attorney general before coming to the Senate.

**Other Republicans.** Goldwater (R Ariz.), the Republican Party's 1964 presidential candidate, returned to the Senate in 1969. He had served in the Senate from 1952 to 1964. A retired Air Force major general, Goldwater serves on the Senate Armed Services Committee and the Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee. He received a 100 per cent rating from the American Security Council for his support in 1974 of defense programs. During his 1974 reelection campaign he called for streamlining the federal bureaucracy and reducing the federal budget.

Howard H. Baker Jr. (R Tenn.) was elected to the Senate in 1966. He was vice chairman and ranking minority member of the Senate Watergate committee. He serves on the Foreign Relations and Public Works Committees, the Republican Committee on Committees and the Republican Personnel Committee. During the Senate Watergate investigation, Baker conducted a separate probe into the CIA's involvement with the June 1972 burglary and the initial coverup.

Charles McC. Mathias (R Md.) was elected to the Senate in 1968. He serves on the Judiciary, Appropriations and District of Columbia Committees. A liberal Republican, Mathias won re-election to the Senate in 1974 with the backing of the state AFL-CIO. A critic of U.S. defense policies and involvement in Indochina, Mathias received an 11 per cent rating from the American Security Council for his 1974 votes on military issues.

Richard S. Schweiker (R Pa.) was elected to the Senate in 1968. He serves on the Appropriations and Labor and Public Welfare Committees. He is also a member of the Republican Policy Committee. Schweiker, a frequent critic of U.S. defense policies, was on former President Nixon's "enemies list." ▮

# IDAHO

## Political Background

Back in the 1890s, when populist William Jennings Bryan was urging Americans to abandon the gold standard for the unlimited coinage of that people's metal, silver, Idaho's silver interests dominated the state's politics. Although silver is still mined in places like Sunshine Mine near Kellogg, Idaho's principal economic concern today is agriculture. Potatoes, for which Idaho is famous, are grown in the rich farmlands in the panhandle region just east of Spokane, Washington, and along the Snake River valley in the southern part of the state. Because Idaho is mostly farmland, its population is not concentrated in large urban areas as in other Rocky Mountain and Pacific Coast states. Idaho's largest city is Boise (pop. 74,000)—like many Western cities, a conservative stronghold. The liberal voting base, if it can be called that, lies in the northern panhandle counties. But the sentiments up here are buried by the conservatism of the state's large Mormon community—the largest outside Utah—in the Snake River valley.

In the recent past, the politics in Idaho appear to have travelled full circle. The pattern here, however, has often differed from the one found in the country at large. During the Eisenhower years, a controversy over the construction of Hell's Canyon Dam on the Snake River redounded to the benefit of the Democrats, who have traditionally favored the development of public power over private. During the late 1950s, Idaho Democrats won most of the Senate and House races. In 1960, John F. Kennedy, though a Catholic and an Easterner, got 46% of the state's votes—one of his better showings in the mountain states. But during the 1960s, the people in Idaho became increasingly upset with what they saw as a Democratic Administration dominated by an alien East Coast establishment.

In 1964, a strong conservative push—one especially strong in the southern Mormon counties—resulted in 49% of the state's vote going to Barry Goldwater. In the same year, the state's 2nd congressional district ousted its Democratic Representative for a conservative Republican—the only district outside the South to do so in the year of the LBJ landslide. In 1968, Hubert Humphrey was down to 31%, and in 1972, George McGovern did even worse. Meanwhile, George Wallace in 1968 got 13% of the votes here, his strongest showing west of Texas; and even John Schmitz, the American party candidate in 1972, got 9% of Idaho's votes. Schmitz's totals were generally so poor that they are not listed in our data sections.

But if Idaho has been moving ever rightward in national politics, it has been shifting notably to the left in local races during the last four years. As Idahoans overwhelmingly rejected the candidacy of Hubert Humphrey, they reelected liberal Sen. Frank Church with a resounding 60% of the votes. And in 1972, as McGovern got buried worse here than all but seven other states, the Democrats came within 3% of electing their man to the state's other Senate seat.

Church came to the Senate in 1956 when he was just 32, having beaten an erratic Republican candidate. Church soon got a geat on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and then became one of the first in the Senate to take a stand against the Vietnam war. Something of an orator, Church is found of making scholarly speeches (which he writes himself). Ordinarily, doves and scholars are not very popular in rough-and-ready Idaho. But Church has also catered to opinion at home. He has opposed federal gun control legislation and has kept careful watch over the state's water needs. Moreover, his harsh attacks on foreign-aid programs are surely popular in Idaho. Finally, to counter any remaining Republican criticism, Church can invoke the memory of a famous Republican Senator: William E. Borah. Borah was a progressive and an isolationist, who served in the Senate from 1907 until his death in 1940. Fiercely independent and scholarly, Borah was a respected man, and therby—so some have said—elevated the nation's estimate of the state of Idaho. Church partisans claim the same stature for the present Senator.

The evidence certainly is that Church will remain in the Senate as long as Borah and will become Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. But in the years before the 1968 election, Idaho Republicans, well aware of the state's rightward shift, were convinced they could defeat Frank Church. So certain was their conviction that some of the more conservative among them supported a recall drive initiated by a right-wing California industrialist. But outside intervention is not the sort of thing appreciated in the mountain states, if anywhere. So Church, as a result of the recall drive, began to receive more sympathy than censure, and by 1968 was once again a shoo-in.

The Senator's seat is up in 1974. At this writing, there is no talk of a strong campaign planned against him. Church, of course, must hustle in a state as conservative as Idaho, but the betting is that he will win again. Moreover, the Foreign Relations chairmanship appears ever nearer. The three Democratic Senators ahead of Church on Foreign Relations will all be at least 69 in 1974, when Church will turn 50.

Idaho's junior Senator, elected in 1972, is Republican James McClure. A three-term Congressman and a member of his party's conservative wing, McClure won a hotly contested four-candidate Republican primary with 36% of the votes. Among the losers in the primary was ex-Gov. (1955–71) Robert Smylie. As Governor, Smylie had gotten too liberal for the tastes of Idaho Republicans and lost a bid for renomination in 1970. Another loser was ex-Rep. (1965–69) George Hansen, Church's 1968 opponent. After the primary, Hansen reported that the agents of four big Idaho corporations had tried to talk him out of the race. Talk of such big-money backing hurt McClure's campaign. Environmental issues presented another problem for McClure. His record on the environment was even more conservative than the conservative records compiled by the other Republican members of the state's cohgressional delegation.

All this was grist for the mill of Democratic nominee. Bud Davis, former president of Idaho State University. Davis won his four-man primary with a percentage about like McClure's. Another issue then came into play. Davis had announced earlier that he would observe the United Farm Workers' lettuce boycott. McClure charged that the UFW's next goal was the Idaho potato—a plan otherwise never reported— and insinuated that Davis was a potato-boycotter. McClure's charge may have been enough to make the difference, though as Davis tried to point out, any Idaho politician would have to be crazy to come out against the potato.

When McClure went to the Senate, he left vacant the 1st district congressional seat. This is traditionally the more Democratic of Idaho's two districts. The panhandle is almost completely separated from the rest of the state by the Salmon River Mountains; it is economically and sociologically part of the "Inland Empire" centering on Spokane, Washington. With a large labor vote in Lewiston and the new 18-year-old-vote coming to the University of Idaho in Moscow, the panhandle often produces Democratic majorities.

But in 1st-district politics these days, the panhandle is outvoted by Boise and nearby Nampa, both heavily consevative. Those conservative votes were more than enought to produce a victory for Republican nominee Steven Symms, a fruit rancher and a businessman who was only 34 as he campaigned for the seat. Symms managed to beat the state Senate Majority Leader in the primary and won the general election with 56% of the vote—a percentage as large as the ones McClure once got. The new Congressman is regarded as something of a conservative-libertarian; he has criticized the Nixon Administration policies as too much big government.

The state's 2nd district is more of a unit. Most of the district's people live within a dozen or so miles of the Snake River. They have taken up residence in the small cities or in farm homes lying

among irrigation canals that divert water to the potato fields. The district also includes Sun Valley, the Craters of the Moon National Monument, and Idaho's small slice of Yellowstone National Park. The 2nd district is Mormon country, and except for Pocatello (pop. 40,000), it is rock-hard conservative. In some of the 2nd's counties along the Snake, George Wallace almost equalled Hubert Humphrey's totals in 1968; and in 1972, John Schmitz actually ran ahead of George McGovern in four counties. Nixon, of course, carried all of them by heavy margins.

The Congressman from the 2nd, Orval Hansen, is a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. He is, however, not as conservative as many Idaho Republicans. Orval Hansen was first elected in 1968 when his predecessor, George Hansen (no relation, but like many Mormons also of Danish descent) stepped aside to run for the Senate. But the current Congressman has more going for him than easy name familiarity; he is generally considered an effective and thoughtful legislator. Hansen serves on the Education and Labor Committee and because of the extensive Arco AEC installations in his district, on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

Assuming there is no strong challenge to Frank Church, the main event in Idaho politics during 1974 will be the Governor's race. The current incumbent, Democrat Cecil Andrus, won in 1970 in large part because of the environmental stands taken by his predecessor, crew-cut ultra-conservative Don Samuelson. Samuelson had beaten liberal three-term incumbent Robert Smylie in the 1966 Republican primary and won the general election that year by a narrow margin. While in office, the Gov. Samuelson supported a mining company's proposal to extract molybdenum (a metal in excess supply)from the White Clouds area, one of the scenic wondersof the Salmon River Mountains. Andrus attacked the proposal and won the 1970 election by a narrow margin. In 1972, his party did not do so well. So the question posed by the 1974 campaign will be whether Idaho's slight leftward movement in statewide politics will continue.

**Census Data** Pop. 713,008; 0.35% of U.S. total, 42nd largest; change 1960–70, 6.9%. Central city, 11%; suburban, 5%. Median family income, $8,381; 34th highest; families above $15,000: 13%; families below $3,000: 11%. Median years education, 12.3.

**1972 Share of Federal Tax Burden** $564,350,000; 0.27% of U.S. total, 45th largest.

**1972 Share of Federal Outlays** $826,822,241; 0.38% of U.S. total, 45th largest. Per capita federal spending, $1,160.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DOD | $115,881,000 | 47th (0.19%) | HEW | $222,736,928 | 43rd (0.31%) |
| AEC | $95,601,825 | 12th (3.65%) | HUD | $16,925,582 | 43rd (0.55%) |
| NASA | — | — (—) | VA | $48,060,998 | 41st (0.42%) |
| DOT | $43,797,631 | 46th (0.56%) | USDA | $158,932,406 | 34th (1.03%) |
| DOC | $3,055,679 | 43rd (0.24%) | CSC | $12,994,138 | 43rd (0.32%) |
| DOI | $36,156,331 | 18th (1.70%) | TD | $23,050,186 | 46th (0.14%) |
| DOJ | $3,817,200 | 43rd (0.39%) | Other | $45,812,337 | |

**Economic Base** Agriculture, notably cattle, potatoes, dairy products and wheat; food and kindred products, especially canned, cured and frozen foods; lumber and wood products, especially general sawmills and planing mills; finance, insurance and real estate; chemicals and allied products, especially industrial chemicals; trailor coaches and other transportation equipment.

**Political Line-up** Governor, Cecil D. Andrus (D); seat up, 1974. Senators, Frank Church (D) and James A. McClure (R). Representatives, 2 R. State Senate (23 R and 12 D); State House (51 R and 19 D).

**The Voters**

*Registration* 397,019 Total. No party registration.
*Median voting age* 43.3

*Employment profile* White collar, 43%. Blue collar, 33%. Service, 13%. Farm, 11%.
*Ethnic groups* Total foreign stock, 10%.

*Presidential vote*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *1972* | Nixon (R) | 199,384 | (71%) |
| | McGovern (D) | 80,826 | (29%) |
| *1968* | Nixon (R) | 165,369 | (57%) |
| | Humphrey (D) | 89,273 | (31%) |
| | Wallace (AI) | 36,541 | (12%) |
| *1964* | Johnson (D) | 148,920 | (51%) |
| | Goldwater (R) | 143,557 | (49%) |

**Senator**

**Frank Church** (D) Elected 1956, seat up 1974; b. July 25, 1924, Boise; home, Boise; Stanford U., B.A., 1947, LL.B., 1950; Harvard, 1948; Army, WWII; married, two children; Presbyterian.

*Career* Practicing atty., 1950–56; State Chm., Idaho Young Democrats, 1952–54; Keynoter, Dem. Natl. Convention, 1960; U.S. delegate to 21st UN General Assembly; Bd. of Gov., Col. of the Virgin Islands, 1968.

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*Administrative Assistant* Verda Barnes

**Committees**

*Foreign Relations* (4th); Subs: Oceans and International Environment; Arms Control, International Law and Organization; Western Hemisphere Affairs; Multinational Corporations (Chm.).

*Interior and Insular Affairs* (3rd); Subs: Parks and Recreation; Public Lands; Water and Power Resources (Chm.).

*Sp. Com. on Aging (Chm.); Subs: Housing for the Elderly; Employment and Retirement Incomes; Consumer Interests of the Elderly (Chm.); Long-Term Care.*

**Group Ratings**

| | ADA | COPE | LWV | RIPON | NFU | LCV | CFA | NAB | NSI | ACA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1972 | 70 | 80 | 90 | 72 | 88 | 78 | 90 | 33 | 0 | 17 |
| 1971 | 93 | 83 | 83 | 71 | 100 | – | 100 | – | – | 17 |
| 1970 | 75 | 91 | – | 73 | 100 | 73 | – | 30 | 0 | 11 |

**Key Votes**

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1) Busing | FOR | 8) Sea Life Prot | FOR | 15) Tax Singls Less | AGN |
| 2) Alas P-line | AGN | 9) Campaign Subs | FOR | 16) Min Tax for Rich | FOR |
| 3) Gun Cntrl | AGN | 10) Cmbodia Bmbg | ABS | 17) Euro Troop Rdctn | ABS |
| 4) Rehnquist | AGN | 11) Legal Srvices | FOR | 18) Bust Hwy Trust | FOR |
| 5) Pub TV $ | FOR | 12) Rev Sharing | AGN | 19) Maid Min Wage | FOR |
| 6) EZ Votr Reg | FOR | 13) Cnsumr Prot | FOR | 20) Farm Sub Limit | ABS |
| 7) No-Fault | AGN | 14) Eq Rts Amend | FOR | 21) Highr Credt Chgs | AGN |

**Election Results**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1968 general: | Frank Church (D) | 173,482 | (60%) |
| | George V. Hansen (R) | 114,394 | (40%) |
| 1968 primary: | Frank Church (D), unopposed | | |
| 1962 general: | Frank Church (D) | 141,657 | (55%) |
| | Jack Hawley (R) | 117,129 | (45%) |

# TEXAS

## Political Background

Everybody's image of Texas and the Texan is pretty much the same. It is something of John Wayne at the Alamo, cowboys and cattle on the Chisholm trail, and happy new oil millionaires riding around in air-conditioned Cadillacs while their wives roll up bills at Neiman Marcus. The stereotype has some truth, but not much. Before the east Texas oil strike of the 1930s, the typical Texan was a poor dirt farmer, and even today the state has many more marginal farmers than oil millionaires. Moreover, the descendants of the white men who came to Texas with Sam Houston and defended the Alamo are greatly outnumbered by the 18% of all Texans who are of Mexican descent. And Neiman Marcus has far fewer people with charge accounts than the number of black Texans, who make up 12% of the state's population.

In one respect, however, the stereotypical picture of Texas is accurate: the state is a vast one. It is farther from El Paso to Texarkana—or from Amarillo to Brownsville—than it is from Chicago to New York. As one drives from east to west across Texas, the scenery shifts from fertile lands that receive ample rain to flat, waterless desert. During the winter, blizzards sweep across the northern panhandle, while the Rio Grande basks in semitropical temperatures. Despite its size, Texas lost its status as the nation's biggest when Alaska became a state in 1959. Nevertheless, during the 1960s, Texas passed both Illinois and Ohio to become the fourth largest in population, and by 1980, Texas will outrank Pennsylvania to occupy the number-three position.

"In no other state," writes Neal Peirce, an expert on all 50 of them, "has the control (of a single moneyed establishment) been so direct, so unambiguous, so commonly accepted." Of course, the biggest money here is in oil. But Texas millionaires are also big in petrochemicals, construction (Brown & Root contractors, an LBJ favorite), insurance, and computers. Ross Perot, an old IBM salesman, made millions when he set up his own company and designed programs for Medicaid administrators; Perot is therefore the first welfare millionaire. Almost without exception, the big-money men are conservative and, bowing to local traditions, they have chosen—at least until very recently—to exert control through the Democratic party. Big money put pressure on congressional powers like Speaker Sam Rayburn and Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson, neither of whom brooked any tampering with the oil depletion allowance. But the rich have devoted their most sustained efforts to statewide politics. Their heroes are Tory Democrats like ex-Gov. (1951–56) Allan Shivers, who broke with the party to support Eisenhower in 1952 and 1956, and of course ex-Gov. (1963–68) John B. Connally. As Governor, Connally permitted some progressive legislation to be enacted, but never anything that would really hurt the state's moneyed establishment. To note just one fact, Connally's home state is the only one of the eight largest with no income tax.

Lately, as Peirce notes, the dominance of the moneyed establishment and the Tory Democrats is on the wane. Which does not mean that conservative Democrats are no longer in power— they are. But it does mean that their success is no longer automatic, and also that changes—in population patterns, in political preference, and in political organization—may greatly alter Texas politics in the next few years. John Connally's switch to Republican status in 1973 symbolizes what has happened here. When Connally, a man who could become President, speaks, everybody in the nation's highest circles of high finance listens. But he no longer has all that much say about how his native Texas is to run its affairs.

Connally could come back in 1974 if he decided to head a major drive for Texas Republicans, or if he ran for Governor, as a Republican, himself. But the latter possibility seems unlikely. Big John on the Republican stump would only rekindle lingering mistrust. For 20 years. Republicans like conservative state Rep. Fred Agnich of Dallas and ultraconservative Harris County (Houston) leader Nancy Palm labored to build an effective Texas Republican party; all the while, their most effective adversary was Tory Democrat John Connally. Moreover, few of Connally's old friends still active in state politics have made the move to the Republican party. So the betting here is that Connally will find little time to help Texas Republicans in 1974, and will instead advise the President from time to time, hit the fried chicken and mashed potatoes circuit around the country, and hop around to homes in Washington and Jamaica.

The issue that shook the Texas Tory Democratic establishment was the same one that has shaken the Nixon Administration: scandal. In Texas, though, the affair was more of the money-grubbing kind. At the center of the scandal was Frank Sharp, a legendary Texas promoter who built the Sharpstown shopping center in Houston. The details are too complex to recount here, but in the end, state House Speaker Gus Mutscher went to jail, Assistant Attorney General Will Wilson was forced to resign from John Mitchell's Justice Department, and Gov. Preston Smith was implicated. The heroes of the moment were a group of 30 state Representatives—liberal Democrats plus a few conservative Republicans—who voted against a banking bill wanted by Sharp. Colleagues of the state legislators, angered by the refusal to go along, dubbed the recalcitrants the "Dirty 30," a name to which they clung proudly.

The scandal of 1971 and 1972 set the stage for one of the wildest gubernatorial campaigns in Texas history. Competitors included wealthy rancher Dolph Briscoe, whose chief asset, aside from a bulging campaign chest, was the fact that he had not held public office since the 1950s; incumbent Gov. Smith; and two extraordinary figures who nicely illustrate the variety of contemporary Texas politics. One was Lt. Gov. Ben Barnes, who was widely touted as the brightest young politician in Texas and the heir to Johnson and Connally. LBJ himself once predicted that Barnes would someday be President. The gubernatorial candidate was elected to the legislature at 21, became Speaker at 25, and Lieutenant Governor at 29. In Texas, the Lieutenant Governorship is a powerful office, since its holder appoints all state Senate committee chairman and members. For the 1972 election, Barnes was considered the front runner. The wunderkind, however, had a whiff of scandal about him. Though not connected with the Sharp mess, Barnes had become quite wealthy for a young man who had never made as much as $10,000 a year during his adult life. It seems that he was loaned a lot of money without collateral, which he steered toward some sure-fire investments.

The fourth major candidate—and it was not until late in the campaign that the Texas papers would admit that she was a major candidate—was state Rep. Frances Farenthold. Sissy, as she is called, was a leader of the Dirty 30 and had been a member of the state legislature since 1968. When Lyndon Johnson returned to Texas, Sissy was the only member of the legislature to vote against a resolution honoring the ex-President, because of her opposition to the Vietnam war. In general, Farenthold was everything that a candidate for public office in Texas was not supposed to be: a Catholic in a Baptist state, a woman in a state full of aspiring football players and oilmen, a proponent of liberalizing abortion laws, and a critic of the Texas Rangers, who often harass Mexican-Americans in south Texas.

Farenthold's main asset was a powerful one in scandal-conscious Texas: honesty. Everyone knew she could not be bought. Out on the stump, Sissy spoke in a flat, calm voice, as if what she was saying was unremarkable. In the initial primary, Smith, after two terms as Governor, won just 9% of the votes; Barnes, the brainy kid bound for the White House, got just 18% and became a political has-been at age 33. Surprising most of the pundits, Farenthold finished second with 28%, as Briscoe finished first with 44%. During the campaign, it was Briscoe's habit to refuse comment on the issues, which led Sissy to call him "a bowl of pablum." Looking at the results, observers predicted an easy Briscoe win in the runoff. But Farenthold campaigned hard; she managed to

construct jerry-built, but effective organizations in the large cities; and won 45% of the votes. Briscoe's victory in the general election again ran counter to Texas tradition—the Democrat just barely won. He beat archconservative Republican state Sen. Henry Grover by a scant 100,000 votes. Meanwhile, La Raza Unida party candidate Ramsey Muniz aimed his campaign solely at Mexican-Americans and got 200,000 votes.

So the liberal Democrats and the conservative Republicans almost upset a Democrat who enjoyed all of the traditional Tory support. Shivers and Connally had always stoutly defended the Texas one-party system, one they could control so long as all the voters in the state continued to cast ballots in the Democratic primary and nominate conservative candidates. But Texas has changed, and so has its politics. Its economy has moved from one dominated by farmers to one dominated by oil. Accordingly, Texas politics is now moving from one under the thumb of rural areas—the bastion of conservative Democrats—to one controlled by the big cities, dominated by liberal Democrats and Republicans. In 1960, the 221 Texas counties with fewer than 50,000 people cast 33% of the state's votes; in 1972, they cast only 26%. Meanwhile, the big cities—Houston, Dallas, Fort Worth, and San Antonio—which cast 36% of the state's votes in 1960, accounted for 43% of them in 1972.

Houston and Dallas are reputed to be strongholds of the new rich, which they are to a considerable extent. But the grip of the wealthy has slackened some in the last dozen years. Since 1960, the state's poll tax has been outlawed, and liberal organizations have sprung up, particularly in Houston. The groups have registered blacks, Mexican-Americans, and white working-class people in great numbers. In 1960, 2.2 million people voted in Texas; by 1972, 3.4 million did—the largest percentage rise among the big states. Most of the new voters live in the four major urban centers, and by no means all of the big-city residents are affluent conservatives. As the growing Texas cities shift to the left and the declining rural areas move farther to the right, no one knows for sure what will happen to Texas politics, but everybody does know it will change.

In 1970, however, the Senate race demonstrated that the power of rural Texas was still a factor, for against considerable odds, the Tory Democratic candidate won. He was Lloyd Bentsen, a former Congressman (1949–55), who came out of lucrative political retirement to upset Sen. (1957–71) Ralph Yarborough in the Democratic primary. Yarborough is the patron saint of Texas liberals—the only one of their number to win major office. Over the years, he and John Connally continually feuded; it was to reconcile them that John Kennedy came to Dallas in 1963. In the Senate, Yarborough compiled a near perfect liberal record. As chairman of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, the Senator received the full support of the state's small but feisty labor movement.

But in 1970, Yarborough was 66 and Bentsen 51. As usual, the incumbent was poorly financed, while Bentsen had tons of money. Yarborough was busy in Washington and badly organized at home; Bentsen of course bought all the campaign support he needed. Throughout the spring of 1970, Bentsen ran TV clips of the riots outside the 1968 Democratic National Convention. These implied that Yarborough—a longtime opponent of the Vietnam war—was somehow responsible for the carnage, as well as for the other riots and scenes of civil disobedience of the 1960s. The Bentsen media campaign foreshadowed the 1970 Nixon-Agnew congressional law-and-order campaign. But unlike the White House no-more-permissiveness effort, Bentsen's strategy worked. Yarborough's east Texas stump oratory failed to bring back the rural votes, and because of local feuds, the Senator also lost many Mexican-American votes. Moreover, Bentsen, a big landowner in the lower Rio Grande Valley, could speak fluent Spanish. The challenger won a solid 53–47 victory.

Soon thereafter, apparently on the advice of Lyndon Johnson, Bentsen swung to the center. Other right-wing Democratic primary winners—the men who ran against Sen. John Tower in 1961 and 1966—suffered severe desertions from white liberals, blacks, and Chicanos in the general election. So Bentsen wanted to avoid the right-wing path to defeat. He cultivated and won the support of liberals like state Sen. (and now Congresswoman) Barbara Jordan, Rep. Henry Gonzalez, and the state AFL-CIO.

In the end, however, Bentsen's salvation was the traditional rural Democratic vote. The Republican nominee, George Bush—then a Houston Congressman and now Republican National Chairman—waged an effective media campaign. He emphasized his good looks and made a clear pitch for liberal votes. National Republicans felt that Bush was one of the strongest, or at least most photogenic, candidates in the country in 1970. There was even talk that if elected to the Senate, Bush might replace Spiro Agnew on the Republican ticket in 1972. The rumors helped

Bush carry the four big cities, 54–46. But he lost the rural counties by an overwhelming margin of 63–37. A liquor-by-the-glass referendum brought out lots of Baptist Democrats, and these people were not about to vote for a man who looked and talked like a product of an Eastern prep school, which Bush was.

In the Senate, Bentsen has continued to move towards his party's center. The confrontation-prone strategies of the Nixon Administration have nudged Bentsen along. As John Connally, Bentsen's old friend and 1970 backer, became a Republican, Bentsen assumed the chairmanship of the Senate Democratic Campaign Committee. And on major issues, the Texan has usually lined up with other Democrats, including opposition to the bombing of Cambodia. For Bentsen, the antiwar stance represents something of a switch; as a young Congressman, he urged that atomic bombs be dropped on North Korea.

If Bentsen's 1970 triumph showed the persistence of the traditional patterns in Texas politics, the 1972 Senate race manifested a significant break with the past that may well become permanent. Once again, Ralph Yarborough ran, this time at 68. When questioned about his age, the still vigorous man said that his father had lived to be 100. In the initial primary, where more than two million ballots were cast, Yarborough came within 268 votes of securing the Democratic nomination outright. So he faced a runoff, which gave the other major contender, Barefoot Sanders, a second chance. The 47-year-old Sanders was an Assistant Attorney General in the Johnson Administration; in 1968, his appointment to a federal judgeship was blocked by Senate inaction. Sanders did not have the money Bentsen had, nor did he wage Bentsen's kind of hard-line compaign. But for money, Sanders substituted a youthful energy, and though he set forth no hard line, he was clearly more conservative than Yarborough. In a mild surprise, Sanders won the runoff by a 53–47 margin, in large part because he broke into Yarborough's support among rural voters. Yarborough's margin dropped 5% in the rural counties between the first primary and the runoff.

The general election was closer than most pundits had predicted. The favorite, of course, was two-term Republican Sen. John Tower, if only because he had a $2.4 million campaign chest. In fact, Tower had more money at his disposal than any 1972 statewide candidate in the country except perhaps Sen. Charles Percy of Illinois. Tower also took advantage of whatever coattails Nixon had to offer, as he cited his support of the President whenever he got the chance. As Tower campaigned, he knew that Texas had twice rejected Nixon's presidential candidancy—in 1960, when LBJ was on the Democratic ticket, and in 1968, when Humphrey took 41% to Nixon's 40%. But 1972 was a Nixon year in Texas, as the incumbent President won a landslide 67% in the state. The number-one Republican scored the greatest gains in the traditionally Democratic and rural central and eastern parts of Texas. To buck the trend, Sanders had little money—some $2 million less than his opponent. But he and his wife managed to shake 100,000 hands, hoping as they did that the traditionally Democratic allegiances in rural Texas would produce an upset win for Sanders.

But Tower hung on to post a 55% victory. The result was not really a matter of coattails—the difference between Tower and Nixon percentages varied widely from place to place in Texas. Rather, Tower's triumph and Sanders' defeat was a matter of the Republican scoring better than he ever had before in the rural counties. Sanders ran just a single point behind Bentsen's showing in the four big cities—45% compared to 46%. But Sanders got only 46% of the votes in the 221 small counties, compared to Bentsen's 63%.

The rural areas of Texas, unlike those in the other 10 states of the old Confederacy, did not move en masse to Barry Goldwater in 1964 or George Wallace in 1968. They stayed with Lyndon Johnson in 1964 and with Johnson's man Humphrey in 1968. But with Johnson effectively removed from the political picture—he died just a few months after the 1972 election—rural Texas shifted to the right just as the rest of rural South had some years earlier. In part, the political behavior of rural Texans was a repudiation of George McGovern. But beyond that, as the Senate race shows, it evidenced a repudiation of a moderate Texas Democrat who enjoyed John Connally's endorsement. The trend has not yet affected congressional contests, though it probably will when aged Democrats retire or lose Democratic primaries. There is no doubt, however, that even moderate Democrats must build on their increasing strength in Texas cities if they plan to win future statewide elections.

Tower is something of an accidental Senator—a beneficiary of good luck and hard work. In 1959, Tower was an unknown professor at Midwestern University in Wichita Falls; his wife, however, had money. So in 1960, he waged a quixotic campaign against Sen. Lyndon Johnson.

Because Johnson had engineered a bill in the state legislature which allowed him to run for the Senate and the vice-presidency simultaneously, his opponent, Tower, was helped to a respectable showing. And in the 1961 special election to fill Johnson's seat after he became Vice-President, the Republican defeated the ultraconservative Democrat appointed to fill the vacancy.

In 1966, Tower won a full term and his largest margin (57%) so far against then Atty. Gen Waggoner Carr, who has since been implicated in aspects of the Frank Sharp scandal. In both elections, Tower received the votes of many Texas liberals, either because they considered his opponents more conservative or because they figured that the Republican Tower would be easier to dislodge when a more agreeable candidate emerged. In 1972, of course, Tower got little support from the liberals, but won anyway with Republican-trending rural Texas supplying the needed votes.

Tower, one of the more conservative members of the Senate, is the ranking Republican on the Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs Committee. He also sits as the number-two Republican on the Armed Services Committee. In general, the Texas Senator opposes high levels of federal spending on domestic programs and supports generous outlays for the military and space programs. Tower's position on fiscal matters is quite acceptable in Texas, which receives far more that its proportionate share of Pentagon and NASA dollars. It is, of course, too early to predict how Tower will fare in 1978 when his seat is up. But the first Republican Senator from Texas since Reconstruction has shown himself no duffer when it comes to winning votes from a changing Texas electorate.

The pace of Texas political activity in 1974 will probably slacken a bit. Neither of the two Senate seats is up, and incumbent Dolph Briscoe appears likely to win what will be the state's first four-year gubernatorial term. But a host of politicians have expressed an interest in higher office, most of them with backgrounds in conservative Democratic politics but with liberal records of late. These include Atty. Gen. John Hill, who wants to be Governor; House Speaker Price Daniel, Jr., who may run against Lt. Gov. Bill Hobby (who would like to be Governor himself); and state Insurance Commissioner Joe Christie. And several Republicans, encouraged by Briscoe's weak 1972 showing, may be tempted to take him on. Then there is always Frances Farenthold, who has moved from Corpus Christi to Houston, and may run for something. These days, nothing is for sure in Texas politics.

Texas gained one congressional seat after the 1950 census, and another after the 1960 count, for a total of 24. Because of vast population movements within the state, the results of congressional redistricting have been grotesque. Most of rural Texas is losing population, while Houston and Dallas are growing as fast as any metropolitan areas in the nation. Back in the time of Sam Rayburn (who died in 1961), the Texas delegation consisted almost exclusively of conservative-leaning Democrats from rural and small-town districts. The one-man-one-vote decisions have required the elimination of some of the old districts, and others, notably the 6th, have taken grafts composed of urban areas to attain the equal population requirement.

The Texas legislature, always dominated by conservative Democrats, has tried to protect the seats of senior, conservative, and rural-oriented Democrats. Some of the old politicians have had to go, and they have been replaced by Congressmen from the cities, where the two-party system of liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans is now almost fully developed. Accordingly, the Texas delegation, once the most cohesive in Washington, is now much more heterogeneous and somewhat less powerful than it used to be. There is a chance that a pending suit before a federal court will require further redistricting for 1974, but at this writing, it appears that the boundaries currently in effect will be only slightly altered except, possibly, in Dallas (see Texas 5).

**Census Data** Pop. 11,196,730; 5.53% of U.S. total, 4th largest; change 1960–70, 16.9%. Central city, 48%; suburban, 25%. Median family income, $8,486; 33rd highest; families above $15,000: 17%; families below $3,000: 13%. Median years education, 11.7.

**1972 Share of Federal Tax Burden** $10,283,710,000; 4.92% of U.S. total, 6th largest.

**1972 Share of Federal Outlays** $12,624,945,465; 5.82% of U.S. total, 3rd largest. Per capita federal spending, $1,128.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DOD | $5,121,450,000 | 2nd (8.19%) | HEW | $3,263,353,480 | 5th (4.57%) |
| AEC | $27,210,883 | 16th (1.04%) | HUD | $170,754,840 | 4th (5.56%) |
| NASA | $291,506,357 | 2nd (9.74%) | VA | $713,948,734 | 3rd (6.24%) |
| DOT | $463,698,943 | 2nd (5.88%) | USDA | $1,161,073,938 | 2nd (7.55%) |
| DOC | $29,904,407 | 9th (2.31%) | CSC | $177,535,987 | 7th (4.31%) |
| DOI | $59,215,310 | 11th (2.79%) | TD | $360,075,408 | 9th (2.18%) |
| DOJ | $78,082,695 | 3rd (7.95%) | Other | $707,134,483 | |

**Economic Base** Finance, insurance and real estate; agriculture, notably cattle, sorghum grain, cotton lint and dairy products; transportation equipment, especially aircraft; food and kindred products, especially meat products; oil and gas extraction, especially oil and gas field services; apparel and other textile products, especially men's and boys' furnishings; machinery, especially construction and related machinery.

**Political Line-up** Governor, Dolph Briscoe (D); seat up, 1974. Senators, John G. Tower (R) and Lloyd Bentsen (D). Representatives, 24 (20 D and 4 R). State Senate (28 D and 3 R); State House (133 D and 17 R).

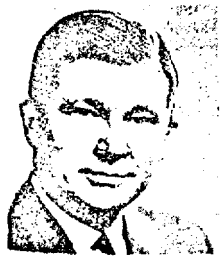
**The Voters**

*Registration* 5,212,815 Total. No party registration.
*Median voting age* 41.5
*Employment profile* White collar, 49%. Blue collar, 34%. Service, 13%. Farm, 4%.
*Ethnic groups* Black, 12%. Spanish, 18%. Total foreign stock, 11%.

*Presidential vote*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *1972* | Nixon (R) | 2,298,896 | (67%) |
| | McGovern (D) | 1,154,289 | (33%) |
| *1968* | Nixon (R) | 1,227,844 | (40%) |
| | Humphrey (D) | 1,266,804 | (41%) |
| | Wallace (AI) | 584,269 | (19%) |
| *1964* | Johnson (D) | 1,663,185 | (63%) |
| | Goldwater (R) | 958,566 | (37%) |

**Senator**



**John Goodwin Tower** (R) Elected May 27, 1961, seat up 1978; b. Sept. 29, 1925, Houston; home, Wichita Falls; Southwestern U., B.A., 1948; So. Methodist U., M.A., 1953; U. of London, 1952; Navy, WWII; USNR; married, three children; Methodist.

*Career* Faculty, Midwestern U., 1951–60; first Repub. to be elected to U.S. Senate from Tex. since 1870, elected to fill vacancy caused by resignation of Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson.

*Offices* 142 OSOB, 202-225-2934. Also 784 Fed. Office Bldg., 300 E. 8th St., Austin 78701, 512-397-5933, and 1814 Fed. Bldg., 1114 Commerce St., Dallas 75202, 214-749-3441.

*Administrative Assistant* Elwin Skiles, Jr.

**Committees**

*Armed Services* (2nd); Subs: Military Construction Authorization (Ranking Mbr.); Preparedness Investigating; Strategic Arms Limitation Talks; Tactical Air Power; Reprograming of Funds (Ranking Mbr.); General Legislation.

*Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs* (Ranking Mbr.); Subs: Housing and Urban Affairs (Ranking Mbr.); Financial Institutions; Production and Stabilization; Small Business

*Joint Com. on Defense Production* (Ranking Senate Mbr.).

**Group Ratings**

| | ADA | COPE | LWV | RIPON | NFU | LCV | CFA | NAB | NSI | ACA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1972 | 0 | 0 | 18 | 38 | 40 | 0 | 0 | 80 | 100 | 94 |
| 1971 | 0 | 27 | 38 | 20 | 18 | – | 17 | – | – | 88 |
| 1970 | 3 | 0 | – | 15 | 13 | 8 | – | 90 | 100 | 94 |

**Key Votes**

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1) Busing | AGN | 8) Sea Life Prot | AGN | 15) Tax Singls Less | AGN |
| 2) Alas P-line | FOR | 9) Campaign Subs | AGN | 16) Min Tax for Rich | AGN |
| 3) Gun Cntrl | AGN | 10) Cmbodia Bmbg | FOR | 17) Euro Troop Rdctn | AGN |
| 4) Rehnquist | FOR | 11) Legal Srvices | AGN | 18) Bust Hwy Trust | AGN |
| 5) Pub TV $ | AGN | 12) Rev Sharing | FOR | 19) Maid Min Wage | AGN |
| 6) EZ Votr Reg | AGN | 13) Cnsumr Prot | AGN | 20) Farm Sub Limit | AGN |
| 7) No-Fault | AGN | 14) Eq Rts Amend | FOR | 21) Highr Credt Chgs | FOR |

**Election Results**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1972 general: | John G. Tower (R) | 1,822,877 | (54%) |
| | Barefoot Sanders (D) | 1,511,985 | (44%) |
| | Flores Amaya (LRU) | 63,543 | (2%) |
| 1972 primary: | John G. Tower (R), unopposed | | |
| 1966 general: | John G. Tower (R) | 841,501 | (57%) |
| | Waggoner Carr (D) | 643,855 | (43%) |

# MICHIGAN

## Political Background

A six-letter word (some spell it with seven) dominated Michigan politics in 1972: b-u-s-i-n-g. Michigan, which has been regarded a Democratic state, went Republican in November. Moreover, in the Democratic primary held earlier in the year, the voters here gave 51% of their ballots to George Wallace, much to the chagrin of the Michigan Democratic party. And because both parties in the state like to overstate their commitment to liberal political ideals, even the state Republican party in Michigan was disappointed by the showing Wallace made. To some observers, it appeared that the Northern state fell into the throes of a political reaction—the kind that hit the Deep South during the 1950s and early 1960s, when hundreds of thousands of people changed lifetime voting habits and supported the loudest demagogue in sight.

But it must be remembered that the Wallace primary victory—the one the Governor seems most delighted to recount—came at the very height of the 1972 Michigan busing furor. And because Wallace had been shot just a day before the election, the determination among his supporters to get out the vote was definitely heightened; this clearly pushed the Governor's expected number of percentage points up several notches. The results show that Wallace carried all but the state's two black-majority congressional districts, but he made his strongest showing in

the Detroit suburbs. These suburbs are where the busing issue had its most pronounced impact, for obvious reasons. A federal judge had ordered a metropolitan busing plan; he ruled that the Detroit schools, which are two-thirds black, could not be desegregated without busing across city limits. Whites, who had moved to the suburbs expecting to send their children to all-white schools, were stunned by the decision of the court and reacted furiously.

But even though Wallace swept the state in the primary, by November the strength of the Michigan anti-busing reaction was limited to the Detroit suburbs.

Meanwhile, George McGovern, who was seen by the voters as a pro-buser (or an anti-antibuser), took 43% of the state's votes—down 5% from Hubert Humphrey's total in 1968. McGovern ran 11% behind Humphrey in the Detroit metropolitan area and more than 20% off Humphrey's totals in suburban Macomb County, where anti-busing sentiment was its most fervent (see Michigan 12, 14, and 18). By contrast, however, McGovern actually ran fractionally ahead of Humphrey in outstate Michigan, just as he did in other states of the Upper Midwest, like Wisconsin and Iowa. McGovern improved on Humphrey's showing even as busing orders were in effect or pending in outstate cities like Grand Rapids, Lansing, and Kalamazoo.

The higher McGovern vote is part of a current trend in Michigan politics. For the last five years, voters in the Detroit metropolitan area, heavily Democratic by tradition, have been swinging toward Republican candidates. Meanwhile, in traditionally Republican outstate Michigan, which casts between 52% and 55% of the state's ballots, Democratic candidates are running much better than in the past. The result is that the Republicans now win all the closely contested statewide races, just as they have for more than a dozen years. So the conventional wisdom of Michigan as a Democratic state has to undergo revision.

The major factor behind Republican success here is a sophisticated use of the media and of public-opinion polling. Michigan Republicans have hired nationally known experts like Walter deVries, co-author of *The Ticket Splitter*, and Frederick Currier of Market Opinion Research, a Detroit firm and the principal pollster in the 1972 Nixon campaign. Michigan Democrats distrust fancy politicking; they still like to think of themselves as the vanguard of the working class, though union members here make far more money than the average American wage-earner. In the crunch, the Democrats appeal to old-time party loyalties—always a losing tactic in these ticket-splitting times.

Both Michigan political parties are the products of remarkable organizations assembled around a single charismatic figure, and both of these men rode high for about ten years before being soundly repudiated by the voters. In one way or another, both men—Democrat G. Mennen Williams and Republican George Romney—have origins in the industry that dominates Michigan as no other one industry dominates any other major state: automobiles. The volatility of the car manufacturing business remains a major economic fact of life in Michigan. As somebody said, when the national economy sneezes, Michigan gets pneumonia. The sluggish growth of the state's economy is due mainly to the below-average growth rate of the American auto industry, though it did enjoy record profits in 1972 and 1973. Detroit car makers have shown themselves far less capable of technological innovation or market adaptability than foreign competitors. Until recently, Detroit has done little about the emissions-control problem, and now with the gasoline shortage and the trend toward smaller cars, the entire industry may be headed toward real trouble.

But it was the once-booming automobile business that brought the immigrants to Michigan. People came to man the assembly lines from such diverse points as Canada, Poland, and the Appalachians, and the various Black Belts of the South. These immigrants constituted the voting base for the Democratic organization assembled around G. Mennen Williams, Governor from 1949 to 1960. And it was the large suburban middle class created by the auto prosperity of the 1950s and 1960s that produced the votes behind the election triumphs of George Romney, the former president of American Motors. Romney won the governorship in 1962, 1964, and 1966.

Curious parallels exists between Williams and Romney. Both politicians assembled talented organizations. Williams picked men from the United Auto Workers, and New Deal liberals like longtime Democratic State Chairman Neil Stabler. Romney chose from academic people like deVries, and from a corps of business and advertising men. Both Williams and Romney developed presidential ambitions, and both were thwarted by events for which they received undue censure. Because a Republican legislature refused to compromise on any tax plan, the state government went on "payless paydays" for a few weeks; Williams was then charged with allowing the state to go bankrupt. Later, Romney's presidential hopes crumbled under the impact of an offhand

remark that he had been "brainwashed" on a trip to Vietnam— a common enough experience in our times. In 1960, Williams never mounted a presidential campaign and instead endorsed John F. Kennedy. And in 1968, Romney withdrew from the New Hampshire primary when polls showed that he would receive something like 10% of the vote against Richard Nixon.

After these disappointments, both Williams and Romney went on to further humiliation. They got administration jobs that did not match their expectations. Williams became Kennedy's Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, and Romney, Nixon's Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. Both left their posts while notably out of favor with their respective bosses. And finally, both were crushed—Williams in person and Romney by proxy—by the Michigan voters who had once given them large majorities. In 1966, Williams returned from Washington to Michigan to run for Democrat Pat McNamara's Senate seat. Detroit Mayor Jerome Cavanagh, then 38, opposed Williams in the Democratic primary and ran virtually even with the former Governor, getting a respectable 40% of the vote. Then Williams ignored the portent of the Cavanagh showing and vastly underestimated his Republican opponent in the general election, 10-year House veteran Robert Griffin. In May 1966, Gov. Romney had appointed Griffin to fill the seat upon Sen. McNamara's death. Griffin—well-financed, shrewdly advertised, and canny though hardly charismatic—won a 56–44 margin over Williams, a margin larger than any Williams had won in six successful races for Governor. Today Williams sits on the Michigan Supreme Court, after winning election to it in 1970. But among many Michigan voters he remains an unpopular political figure; in 1970 Williams ran considerably behind ex-Gov. (1961–62) and now Michigan Supreme Court Justice John Swainson, the man who had succeeded Williams when he left for the Kennedy Administration job.

Romney's humiliation came in 1970, when he ran his wife Lenore for the U.S. Senate against two-term Democratic incumbent Philip Hart. In the eyes of many voters, Mrs. Romney's candidacy was simply a ploy to keep George's options open. It rapidly turned into a textbook example of how not to run a campaign. Mrs. Romney on the stump proved to be even less fortunate in her choice of words than her husband. Almost simultaneously, she managed to alienate the black community and white suburban voters. She lost by a 67–33 margin—a sure sign that Michigan voters had had enough of the Romneys. At this writing, the former Governor, whose resignation as HUD Secretary was readily accepted by the Nixon White House, is testing the political waters in Utah, where he apparently plans to run to represent his fellow Mormons in the Senate in 1974 (see Utah state write-up).

Since the defeats of Williams and Romney, Michigan has not produced a dominant politician figuring in any kind of presidential speculation. In fact, Michigan is the largest state in the nation never to have produced a President. Current Gov. William Milliken, a generally liberal Republican, inspires no strong feelings. He is regarded as a pleasant, well-intentioned man. However, recent minor scandals in his office and his failure over the course of five years to work out a reform to finance state education have not helped his reelection chances in 1974. Even in 1970, Milliken was nearly beaten by state Sen. Sander Levin; the major issue in the campaign was "parochiaid," state aid to parochial schools. Milliken's support of parochiaid helped him make inroads in traditionally Democratic areas of Detroit and its suburbs. At the same time, Levin won an unusually high 45% of the outstate vote. Milliken is expected to seek reelection in 1974, his opponent being either Levin or former Mayor Cavanagh—a man whose public standing appears to have recovered significantly from the effects of the 1967 Detroit riot.

As predicted in the 1972 edition of the *Almanac*, Sen. Robert Griffin won reelection in 1972. Griffin, the Republican Whip, is one of the Senate's shrewdest partisan operators. Back in the 1950s, Griffin, as a member of the House, helped to put together the Landrum-Griffin Act—the only piece of labor legislation enacted since Taft-Hartley. Organized labor disliked some of the provisions of Landrum-Griffin, mainly those added by Griffin and others to the bill sponsored by then Sen. John F. Kennedy. But Griffin has been able to win in Michigan, though the state has one of the highest percentages of unionization in the country. In 1966, Griffin beat the state's best-known Democrat, G. Mennen Williams, by a solid 56–44 margin. And during his first term as Senator, the Republican built a record of occasional but well-publicized dissents from the Nixon Administration—notably on the Haynsworth nomination and the SST. These dissents served him well at election time. Most of the time, however, Griffin fights like a tiger for partisan Republican causes.

Griffin seized the busing issue in 1971. In spite of his previous record of support for civil rights legislation, Griffin was able to convince white suburban voters that he was a more dependable anti-buser than state Attorney General Frank Kelley, the Democratic candidate for Senator, who

was also opposed to busing. But in an age of growing suspicion of all politicians, cynical white voters apparently concluded that the most reliable anti-buser was the Republican. Since Williams' day, Michigan Democrats have had a reputation for supporting black causes; one mark of this cropped up in 1960, when John F. Kennedy carried a larger percentage of the black vote here than in any other large state.

Would Griffin have won without busing? Probably. The Senator has convinced a far greater number of voters in Michigan than observers in Washington that he is an independent thinker. He also brought other assets to the campaign, like sponsoring the repeal of the auto excise tax. And in the crunch, Michigan's Republicans— the Romneys not withstanding— are notably more accomplished campaigners than the state's Democrats. Evidence of this was Kelley's decision to concentrate on the busing issue, though he couldn't possibly out-antibus Griffin.

Michigan's senior Senator, Democrat Philip Hart, is a very different sort—where Griffin is an indefatigable partisan fighter, Hart has little of the ambition and drive customarily associated with politicians. Hart won his seat in 1958, when he was serving as Lieutenant Governor under G. Mennen Williams. Since then, the Senator has kept his seat by overwhelming margins against minimal opposition. Hart's major area of legislative activity lies in consumer affairs antitrust; as Chairman of the Judiciary Antitrust Subcommittee, the Michigan Senator has crusaded against the evils of monopoly and oligopoly. He has also concentrated his efforts on particular problems in the field—whether, for example, the major oil companies conspired to contrive the "energy crisis." He is one of the leading pro-consumer voices on the Commerce Committee, and the Senate's leading champion of national no-fault auto insurance. Hart, as the ranking liberal on the full Judiciary Committee, has played an important, though quiet, role opposing various Nixon nominations, like that of L. Patrick Gray's designation to become head of the FBI.

Any contentiousness, however, goes against Hart's grain. The Senator is the kind of man who tries to see merit in the positions taken by his adversaries, even when he considers the consequences of their views horrifying. But his gentle nature is admixed with some steel. He was the only Senator to vote against the nomination of James O. Eastland for Senate President pro tem. The office is of only formal importance, except that its holder is fourth in line for the presidency. Hart's action was particularly audacious since Eastland is Chairman of the full Judiciary Committee. Neither is Hart afraid to court political trouble back home if he feels the cause is right. He has opposed anti-busing legislation; in fact, he was one of the leaders in the Senate fight that prevented its enactment in the fall of 1972.

There is talk in Michigan that Hart will retire when his seat comes up in 1976. But there was similar talk in 1970, when he ran. If Hart does leave the Senate, possible replacements include Flint Congressman Donald Riegle, a Republican who became a Democrat in the spring of 1973; ex-Gov. John Swainson, currently state Supreme Court Justice; and Republican Gov. William Milliken, provided he wins in 1974.

**Census Data** Pop. 8,875,083; 4.38% of U.S. total, 7th largest; change 1960–70, 13.4%. Central city, 28%; suburban, 49%. Median family income, $11,029; 6th highest; families above $15,000: 27%; families below $3,000: 7%. Median years education, 12.1.

**1972 Share of Federal Tax Burden** $9,656,650,000; 4.62% of U.S. total, 7th largest.

**1972 Share of Federal Outlays** $6,119,580,884; 2.82% of U.S. total, 11th largest. Per capita federal spending, $690.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DOD | $837,139,000 | 23rd (1.34%) | HEW | $2,968,508,035 | 7th (4.16%) |
| AEC | $4,099,238 | 24th (0.16%) | HUD | $120,261,010 | 9th (3.92%) |
| NASA | $22,787,576 | 15th (0.76%) | VA | $393,281,734 | 8th (3.44%) |
| DOT | $270,399,745 | 9th (3.43%) | USDA | $246,894,293 | 23rd (1.61%) |
| DOC | $16,937,040 | 17th (1.31%) | CSC | $58,903,505 | 17th (1.43%) |
| DOI | $15,399,150 | 31st (0.73%) | TD | $530,567,534 | 5th (3.21%) |
| DOJ | $38,010,819 | 6th (3.87%) | Other | $596,392,205 | |

**Economic Base** Motor vehicles and equipment, and other transportation equipment; machinery, especially metalworking machinery; finance, insurance and real estate; fabricated metal products, especially metal stampings; primary metal industries, especially iron and steel foundries; agriculture, notably dairy products, cattle, dry beans and corn; food and kindred products.

**Political Line-up** Governor, William G. Milliken (R); seat up, 1974. Senators, Philip A. Hart (D) and Robert R. Griffin (R). Representatives, 19 (11 R and 8 D). State Senate (19 D and 19 R); State House (60 D and 50 R).

## The Voters

*Registration* 4,711,855 total. No party registration.
*Median voting age* 40.1
*Employment profile* White collar, 45%. Blue collar, 41%. Service, 13%. Farm, 1%.
*Ethnic groups* Black, 11%. Spanish, 1%. Total foreign stock, 19%. Canada, 4%; Poland, Germany, UK, 2% each; Italy, 1%.

*Presidential vote*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *1972* | Nixon (R) | 1,961,721 | (57%) |
| | McGovern (D) | 1,459,435 | (43%) |
| *1968* | Nixon (R) | 1,370,665 | (42%) |
| | Humphrey (D) | 1,593,082 | (48%) |
| | Wallace (AI) | 331,968 | (10%) |
| *1964* | Johnson (D) | 2,136,615 | (67%) |
| | Goldwater (R) | 1,060,152 | (33%) |

## Senator

**Philip A. Hart** (D) Elected 1958, seat up 1976; b. Dec. 10, 1912, Bryn Mawr, Pa.; home, Mackinac Island; Georgetown U., B.A., 1934; U. of Mich., J.D., 1937; Army, WWII; married, eight children; Catholic.

*Career* Mich. Corp. and Securities Comm., 1949–50; Dir. Office of Price Stabilization, 1951; U.S. Atty., E. Mich., 1952–53; legal adviser to Gov. Williams, 1953–54; Lt. Gov., 1955–58; Asst. Majority Whip, 1966–67.

*Offices* 253 OSOB, 202-225-4822. Also 438 Fed. Bldg., Detroit 48226, 313-226-3188.

*Administrative Assistant* Sidney H. Woolner

## Committees

*Commerce* (4th); Subs: Aviation; Communications; Consumer (Vice Chm.); Environment (Chm.); Oceans and Atmosphere.

*Judiciary* (4th); Subs: Administrative Practice and Procedure; Antitrust and Monopoly (Chm.); Criminal Laws and Procedures; Immigration and Naturalization; Improvements in Judicial Machinery; Juvenile Delinquency; Patents, Trademarks, and Copyrights; Revision and Codification; Refugees and Escapees; Penitentiaries.

*Sel. Com. on Nutrition and Human Needs* (3rd).

*Sp. Com. on Termination of the National Emergency* (2nd).

## Group Ratings

| | ADA | COPE | LWV | RIPON | NFU | LCV | CFA | NAB | NSI | ACA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1972 | 95 | 100 | 100 | 74 | 90 | 84 | 100 | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| 1971 | 96 | 75 | 100 | 80 | 82 | – | 100 | – | – | 4 |
| 1970 | 87 | 100 | – | 81 | 100 | 60 | – | 8 | 0 | 9 |

## Key Votes

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1) Busing | FOR | 8) Sea Life Prot | FOR | 15) Tax Singls Less | FOR |
| 2) Alas P-line | AGN | 9) Campaign Subs | FOR | 16) Min Tax for Rich | FOR |
| 3) Gun Cntrl | FOR | 10) Cmbodia Bmbg | AGN | 17) Euro Troop Rdctn | FOR |
| 4) Rehnquist | AGN | 11) Legal Srvices | FOR | 18) Bust Hwy Trust | FOR |
| 5) Pub TV $ | FOR | 12) Rev Sharing | FOR | 19) Maid Min Wage | FOR |
| 6) EZ Votr Reg | FOR | 13) Cnsumr Prot | FOR | 20) Farm Sub Limit | FOR |
| 7) No-Fault | FOR | 14) Eq Rts Amend | FOR | 21) Highr Credt Chgs | ABS |

## Election Results

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1970 general: | Philip A. Hart (D) | | |
| | Lenore Romney (R) | 1,744,672 | (67%) |
| 1970 primary: | Philip A. Hart (D), unopposed | 858,438 | (33%) |
| 1964 general: | Philip A. Hart (D) | | |
| | Elly M. Peterson (R) | 1,996,912 | (64%) |
| | | 1,096,272 | (35%) |

# MINNESOTA

## Political Background

Minnesota has supplied the nation with iron ore, flour, and political talent. In the recent past, Senators Hubert Humphrey, Eugene McCarthy, and Walter Mondale, along with Supreme Court Justices Warren Burger and Harry Blackmun (the so-called Minnesota Twins), have all come out of the state. And to go back a few years, there was ex-Gov. (1939–43) Harold Stassen, the one-time *wunderkind* of American politics and a figure of national consequence. No other state of this size—or any size—has produced so many serious presidential candidates in recent years, and few have maintained congressional delegations of similar distinction. Is it simply the work of the crisp northern air, or is it something unique in the politics of this state?

Minnesota lay far to the north of the nation's great paths of east-west migration, with Minneapolis and St. Paul sharing a line of latitude with Portland, Maine. So placed, Minnesota developed into the hub of a northern agricultural empire. Both of the Dakotas, eastern Montana, along with the prairies and lakes of Minnesota itself, grew into economic tributaries of the grain-milling and railroad centers of Minneapolis and St. Paul. Meanwhile, the Yankee and Midwestern immigrants who streamed into Iowa, Nebraska, and Kansas left Minnesota to the Norwegians, Swedes, and Germans.

Minnesota's ethnic history has given its politics a liberal, almost Scandinavian ambience. As in neighboring Wisconsin and North Dakota, a strong third party developed here after the Populist era, and that organization, the Farmer-Labor party, dominated Minnesota politics during the 1930s. The great Farmer-Labor Governor of the period, Floyd B. Olson, might well have become a presidential candidate had he not died of cancer in 1936. During the 1940s, after Harold Stassen swept the Republicans back into power in the state, the Farmer-Labor party fell upon hard times. The party eventually joined forces with the heavily outnumbered Democrats to form the Democratic-Farmer-Labor party (DFL), and this group, under the leadership of young Minneapolis Mayor Hubert Humphrey, triumphed in the elections in 1948. The DFL—and Humphrey—have dominated the state's politics ever since. Other Democratic organizations that emerged during the immediate post-war years have floundered of late (the one in Michigan, for example), but the DFL in Minnesota prospers and continues to flourish.

Because an ethnic map of the state is also a political one, the ancestral origin of any community usually determines its political allegiance. One key to the map is that Norwegians, for some reason, are more Republican than Swedes; for example, the state's most heavily Norwegian county, Otter Tail, remained loyal to the Republicans in 1964 and went for Goldwater. The pattern in the state's southern counties resembles the one in Iowa: WASP and German rural counties voting Republican, with some of the cities like Austin and Albert Lea casting strong Democratic margins. The city of St. Paul, settled by Irish and German Catholics, has always been Democratic, while Minneapolis, settled by Swedes, is somewhat less so. But the Twin Cities, which now contain 48% of the state's population, do not constitute the most Democratic part of Minnesota. Instead, that distinction goes to the north country around Duluth and the iron-bearing Mesabi Range. Here in the early days of settlement, the Swedes—joined by Finns, Poles, and other Eastern European ethnics—developed an attachment to the programs of the Democratic party, an attachment that continues to this day. In 1972, not a good Democratic year, the Duluth metropolitan area cast 59% of its votes for George McGovern; the showing was his best among the nation's metropolitan areas.

In fact, McGovern, with 47% of the votes, ran better in Minnesota than anywhere else but Massachusetts and the District of Columbia. And his candidacy seems not to have hurt—indeed may have helped—the DFL to one of its best years. The DFL easily held on to a congressional seat won by a narrow margin in 1970, and almost captured another held by a Republican. Moreover, for the first time in history, the DFL won majorities in both houses of the state's technically nonpartisan legislature, which was a triumph of good organization and youthful candidates over aged veterans. By all odds, the DFL ought to have been long since splintered by feuds between Humphreyites and labor on the one side and McCarthyites and middle-class liberals on the other. Instead, the party came out of both the 1970 and in particular the 1972 elections as one of the strongest political organizations to be found anywhere in the country.

One 1972 contest was never in doubt: the 57% reelection victory of the state's senior Senator, Walter F. Mondale. While serving as the youngest state Attorney General ever elected in Minnesota history, Mondale was appointed to fill Hubert Humphrey's seat in 1964. The incumbent then won a full term in 1966. Mondale is one of the most active members of the Labor and Public Welfare and of the Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs committees. One of his greatest legislative achievements so far came in 1972, when Congress passed a comprehensive child-care program, one that included voluntary day-care. But because President Nixon vetoed the bill, Mondale's effort never became law. The Senator's opposition to the Administration has not been limited to his child-care measure. On a whole range of social issues, Mondale has often led the marshaling of liberal forces in Congress. This he has done not simply to pass legislation, but also to monitor and influence the manner in which laws are administered. A good deal of Mondale's work goes unnoticed; but without it, thousands of poor and middle-class people who have virtually no impact in our political system would have even less.

Though Mondale is an adept political operator, his motivations are clearly those of an old-fashioned idealist concerned for the poor and disadvantaged. In no other way can one explain the Senator's staunch opposition to anti-busing legislation or the time the man has devoted to the problem of child abuse. Some, including the state's junior Senator, Hubert Humphrey, have suggested that Mondale is a politician of presidential caliber. And it does appear that Mondale is someone acceptable to the national Democratic party. McGovernites like his committed liberalism, and the regulars remember that Mondale, co-chairman of Humphrey's 1968 campaign, did not speak out against the Vietnam war too early—that is, while a Democrat occupied the White House. Though his concern for the poor might come over as cloying to some, Mondale articulates his views in a clear and matter-of-fact way, and can hold his own on any platform. At this writing, Edward Kennedy seems to have a lock on the 1976 Democratic nomination, but if he chooses not to run, Mondale is as likely as anyone to emerge the favorite. And head-to-head the Minnesotan could give Kennedy a real contest in the primaries. There is no question, of course, that Mondale would make an excellent vice-presidential nominee.

The number-two spot, however, has not been such a lucky one for Hubert Humphrey, the state's other Senator. He is a man who worked in his father's Huron, South Dakota drugstore during the Depression, was forced to delay getting a college degree until he was 28, and was then elected Mayor of Minneapolis at 34. In the meantime, he helped to organize the DFL party, and, as its Senate nominee in 1948, easily unseated a Republican incumbent.

Memories of Humphrey's civil rights speech at the 1948 Democratic National Convention still linger in the nation's black communities and account for a lot of Humphrey votes among black people. And older liberals still remember how Humphrey, virtually alone, carried their torch in the Senate during the 1950s. But also a team player, Humphrey learned to play ball with Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson. In 1960, he was forced to drop out of the presidential running; his reputation was that of a far-out liberal, and he was unable to raise the kind of money necessary to challenge efforts of John F. Kennedy in the crucial West Virginia primary. But Humphrey went on in the Senate to become Majority Whip and the floor manager of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. That same year his old friend Lyndon Johnson awarded him the vice-presidency.

The office was both an opportunity and a burden. To the disgust of many of his partisans, Humphrey became the head cheerleader for LBJ's policies in Vietnam. This he did with his customary ebullience. In 1968, LBJ designated Humphrey his successor. After staying away from all the primaries, the Minnesotan won the nomination, thanks to the party's big power brokers. Upon winning the prize, Humphrey kissed his TV set, while Chicago police beat up and gassed hundreds of convention demonstrators. After the horror of Chicago, 1968, the real surprise: Humphrey came very close to winning the biggest prize of all. Humphrey's campaign against Nixon testifies to HHH's unflagging spirit and always-abounding energy and the political acumen of Richard Nixon's 1968 campaign manager, John Mitchell.

In 1970, Humphrey made a comeback in Minnesota, winning the seat relinquished by his 1968 rival, Eugene McCarthy. Humphrey took 58% of the vote, as he defeated a formidable Republican opponent, Rep. Clark MacGregor, later head of the Committee to Reelect the President. Once again, in 1972, Humphrey decided to make a bid for the White House. This time he entered the primaries and for the first time actually won a couple, in Pennsylvania and Ohio; he remained George McGovern's chief competitor until the credentials challenges were settled in Miami Beach. All along, Humphrey's campaign had something desperate about it, in the California debates when Humphrey did little but carp at McGovern, and during the July 1972 convention when he made a last-ditch effort to undermine the conditions under which the California primary was

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *1968* | Nixon (R) | 658,643 | (42%) |
| | Humphrey (D) | 857,738 | (54%) |
| | Wallace (AI) | 68,931 | (4%) |
| *1964* | Johnson (D) | 991,117 | (64%) |
| | Goldwater (R) | 559,624 | (36%) |

**Senator**

**Walter F. Mondale** (D) Elected Appointed Dec. 1964, elected 1966, seat up 1978; b. Jan. 5, 1928, Ceylon, Minn.; home, Minneapolis; Macalester Col., U. of Minn., B.A., 1951, LL.B., 1956; Army, 1951–53; married, three children; Presbyterian.

*Career* Practicing atty., 1956–60; Minn. Atty. Gen., 1960–64.

*Offices* 443 OSOB, 202-225-5641. Also 170 Fed. Ctr. Bldg., Minneapolis 55401, 612-725-2041.

*Administrative Assistant* Richard Moe

**Committees**

*Finance* (8th); Subs: International Trade; Health; State Taxation of Interstate Commerce (Chm.).

*Labor and Public Welfare* (6th); Subs: Alcoholism and Narcotics; Children and Youth (Chm.); Education; Employment, Poverty, and Migratory Labor; Health; Railroad Retirement; Sp. Sub. on Arts and Humanities; National Science Foundation.

*Sp. Com. on Aging* (8th); Subs: Housing for the Elderly; Employment and Retirement Incomes; Consumer Interests of the Elderly; Health of the Elderly; Retirement and the Individual (Chm.).

*Sel. Com. on Nutrition and Human Needs* (4th).

**Group Ratings**

| | ADA | COPE | LWV | RIPON | NFU | LCV | CFA | NAB | NSI | ACA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1972 | 95 | 90 | 100 | 76 | 100 | 92 | 100 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1971 | 100 | 83 | 100 | 74 | 100 | – | 100 | – | – | 9 |
| 1970 | 97 | 100 | – | 80 | 100 | 80 | – | 20 | 0 | 5 |

**Key Votes**

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1) Busing | FOR | 8) Sea Life Prot | FOR | 15) Tax Singls Less | FOR |
| 2) Alas P-line | AGN | 9) Campaign Subs | FOR | 16) Min Tax for Rich | FOR |
| 3) Gun Cntrl | FOR | 10) Cmbodia Bmbg | AGN | 17) Euro Troop Rdctn | FOR |
| 4) Rehnquist | AGN | 11) Legal Srvices | FOR | 18) Bust Hwy Trust | FOR |
| 5) Pub TV $ | FOR | 12) Rev Sharing | FOR | 19) Maid Min Wage | FOR |
| 6) EZ Votr Reg | FOR | 13) Cnsumr Prot | FOR | 20) Farm Sub Limit | FOR |
| 7) No-Fault | FOR | 14) Eq Rts Amend | FOR | 21) Highr Credt Chgs | AGN |

**Election Results**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1972 general: | Walter F. Mondale (DFL) | 981,320 | (57%) |
| | Phil Hansen (R) | 742,121 | (43%) |
| 1972 primary: | Walter F. Mondale (DFL) | 230,679 | (90%) |
| | Tom Griffin (DFL) | 11,266 | (4%) |
| | Richard Leaf (DFL) | 7,750 | (3%) |
| | Ralph E. Franklin (DFL) | 6,946 | (3%) |
| 1966 general: | Walter F. Mondale (DFL) | 685,840 | (54%) |
| | Robert A. Forsythe (R) | 574,868 | (46%) |

conducted. Before he lost the primary, Humphrey himself renounced such a move. Today, there is talk that the thrice-rejected Humphrey may try it again in 1976, when he will be 65. If he does, it will be his fourth try in five elections, and probably no more successful than the others.

Nevertheless, it is unwise to underestimate the ability of Hubert Humphrey to pick himself up off the mat. His speechifying still bubbles with new ideas, slogans of the past, inspirational rhetoric, and shameless clichés. And he remains, as he has been for the last quarter-century, one of the most active and productive members of the Senate. Most of his colleagues tend to specialize in one or two policy area. Not Humphrey, who has his hand in everything: disarmament, poverty, agriculture, civil rights, foreign policy, Social Security, and so on and on. Though he does not possess a major committee assignment or an especially important subcommittee chairmanship, Humphrey—by the sheer energy of the man—still constitutes an important force within the Senate. Two existing Senate office buildings have been named for two recently deceased conservatives, Richard Russell and Everett Dirksen. The Senate should wait before naming the third, which is now under construction, until Humphrey retires—a date probably still far in the future.

The main political event for 1974 in Minnesota will be the Governor's race. Incumbent DFL Gov. Wendell Anderson, elected in 1970 at age 38, is a heavy favorite to win reelection. In 1973, Anderson was featured in a *Time* cover story on the glories of Minnesota—and the success of his legislative program. In recent years, Minnesota Republicans have fielded strong candidates, but as Republicans won big in most of the country, the Republicans here have had little luck. The DFL has just been too tough.

**Census Data** Pop. 3,805,069; 1.88% of U.S. total, 19th largest; change 1960–70, 11.5%. Central city, 24%; suburban, 33%. Median family income, $9,928; 16th highest; families above $15,000: 20%; families below $3,000: 9%. Median years education, 12.2.

**1972 Share of Federal Tax Burden** $3,636,920,000; 1.74% of U.S. total, 19th largest.

**1972 Share of Federal Outlays** $3,608,937,376; 1.67% of U.S. total, 19th largest. Per capita federal spending, $948.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DOD | $590,588,000 | 30th (0.94%) | HEW | $1,302,690,191 | 17th (1.82%) |
| AEC | $3,627,639 | 25th (0.14%) | HUD | $52,892,591 | 21st (1.72%) |
| NASA | $12,954,305 | 18th (0.43%) | VA | $239,339,188 | 16th (2.09%) |
| DOT | $130,006,564 | 27th (1.65%) | USDA | $789,717,344 | 5th (5.13%) |
| DOC | $6,708,276 | 32nd (0.52%) | CSC | $46,953,177 | 24th (1.14%) |
| DOI | $33,648,023 | 19th (1.59%) | TD | $186,329,860 | 14th (1.13%) |
| DOJ | $16,915,687 | 18th (1.72%) | Other | $196,566,531 | |

**Economic Base** Agriculture, notably cattle, dairy products, corn and hogs; finance, insurance and real estate; machinery, especially electronic computing equipment; food and kindred products, especially meat products; printing and publishing, especially commercial printing; electrical equipment and supplies; fabricated metal products, especially fabricated structural metal products.

**Political Line-up** Governor, Wendell R. Anderson (D); seat up, 1974. Senators, Walter F. Mondale (D) and Hubert H. Humphrey (D). Representatives, 8 (4 D and 4 R). State Senate (37 Liberals and 30 Conservatives); State House (77 Liberals and 57 Conservatives).

**The Voters**

*Registration* No statewide registration.
*Median voting age* 43.2
*Employment profile* White collar, 49%. Blue collar, 31%. Service, 13%. Farm, 7%.
*Ethnic groups* Total foreign stock, 19%. Germany, 4%; Sweden, Norway, 3%; Canada, 2%.

*Presidential vote*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *1972* | Nixon (R) | 898,269 | (53%) |
| | McGovern (D) | 802,346 | (47%) |

# KENTUCKY

## Political Background

In 1775, Daniel Boone made his way through the Cumberland Gap in the Appalachian Mountains and came upon what we know today as Kentucky—a fertile, virgin land of gently rolling hills. After the Revolutionary War, streams of people from Virginia traveled Boone's Wilderness Road and settled in the hills and countryside around Lexington. The celebrated exodus was the nation's first frontier boom and, up to that time, one of the most extensive mass migrations in human history. The census of 1790 recorded 73,000 Kentuckians; by 1820, there were 564,000, making this the sixth largest state in the nation. In those days, Kentucky was a frontier, its communities full of opportunity and unburdened by the hierarchies that structured the societies of coastal America. Henry Clay, to take the most famous example, came to Kentucky from Virginia as a penniless young man. By the time he was 30 he had done well enough in the law to build a mansion with silver doorknobs, and well enough in politics to become a United States Senator.

In many respects Kentucky hasn't changed much since Clay's time. Much of the state appears to have remained in the nineteenth century. Kentucky is still largely rural; less than 25% of the state's residents live in greater Louisville and only 8% in the suburbs of Cincinnati, Ohio—the only two large metropolitan areas in the state. During the last few decades, population growth here has been sluggish. Looking for jobs, many Kentuckians have moved out of the hills to the industrial cities of the Midwest, California, or Texas. The tobacco fields and thoroughbred horse farms in the Bluegrass region around Lexington look pretty much today as they always did. Toward the west along the cotton farms of the Mississippi, the landscape is also largely unchanged. The mining of coal, however, has left the once-green mountains and hillsides of eastern Kentucky barren and erose. After a steady 30-year decline, the industry has lately been rejuvenated by the

strip-mining technique. Some jobs have resulted, but these have come at the cost of the Kentucky mountains that the people have for so long cherished.

As in many border-state rural areas, political divisions in Kentucky are still based on the splits produced by the Civil War. In general, the hill country was pro-Union and Republican. Some changes took place in this part of Kentucky when miners became union members and began voting Democratic. But the Cumberland Plateau of south central Kentucky remains as heavily Republican as any region in the country. Western Kentucky, which in appearance and economy is part of the South, retains its nineteenth century allegiance to the Democratic party, though not of late to its presidential candidates.

Up through the 1950s, the Democratic counties almost always outvoted the Republican ones. Kentucky politics, therefore, was like that of most Southern states, with the real battles occurring in the Democratic primary. The most famous figure to come out of this era was Alben W. Barkley, who was Congressman from Paducah (1913–27), U.S. Senator (1927–49) and Majority Leader for 10 years after 1937, Vice-President under Harry Truman, and Senator again until his death in 1956.

But time has changed Kentucky's political patterns. Barkley's Democrats have not carried the state in five of the last six presidential elections, while the Republicans here have become solid contenders for the state's top offices. For a four-year period from 1967 to 1971, the Republicans held both Kentucky Senate seats as well as the governorship. To some extent, Republican dominance was a response to a shift within the state's parties, each of which began to assume stands on issues more in line with the image projected by the national party. Since the administration of Gov. Bert Combs (1959–63), the Democratic party has been notably more liberal than was traditional in Kentucky. And the Republicans, with Gov. Louie Nunn (1967–71) leading the way, have become notably more conservative.

The finest example of the traditional old Kentucky Republicanism is ex-Sen. John Sherman Cooper. In and out of the Senate since the 1940s, Cooper was elected to fill unexpired terms in 1946, 1952, and 1956, finally winning a six-year term in 1960. Thereafter, he was reelected by large majorities. Cooper's major interest was foreign affairs. His expertise in the field was recognized by both parties; he received appointments by Democratic and Republican administrations. During the 1950s, the Kentuckian was our Ambassador to India. Cooper was also one of the Senate's most respected men. He co-sponsored the Cooper-Church Amendment, which prohibits the use of American ground troops in Cambodia and Laos. It was the first successful limitation on presidential war-making powers. At age 71, Cooper decided to retire in 1972, and his departure sparked Kentucky's hottest Senate race in some time.

To understand that race, however, we must back up one year to 1971. Kentucky, like Virginia and New Jersey, holds its state elections in off years. The year 1971 marked the end of a long period of Republican success. Not since 1954 had the party lost a Senate race, and Louie Nunn, after a close miss in 1963, captured the Governor's chair in 1967. But as in much of the South, Kentucky Governors cannot succeed themselves. So Nunn ran a young protege, Tom Emberton, in his place. Meanwhile, the Democrats had a fierce primary between ex-Gov. Combs and Lt. Gov. Wendell Ford, which Ford won. The Democrats, despite wounds inflicted during the primary, put together a winning campaign to defeat Emberton.

The powers of a Kentucky Governor are about as broad as those of any Governor in the union, as are the powers of the Kentuckian over his party's activities. So Ford's win gave the Democrats a big psychological boost; the state's Democrats held most small offices, but had consistently lost the big elections. The party's control of the governorship also showed that the state's movement toward the Republicans had been arrested. When Cooper decided not to run, Ford and State Chairman J. R. Miller slated state Senate Majority Leader Walter "Dee" Huddleston, who, as expected, won his primary with ease.

Things on the Republican side, however, were full of acrimony. Robert Gable, a young former Nunn appointee and friend of Tennessee Sen. Howard Baker, entered the Republican primary and mounted a strong campaign. But with 28 minutes left until a midnight filing deadline, ex-Gov. Nunn entered the race. It was well known at the time that Nunn had little desire to go to Washington, and that he wanted to run for Governor again in 1975. But President Nixon, it appears, decided that Nunn would make the strongest candidate and persuaded him to run. The White House, as the state write-up shows, also miscalculated along similar lines in Delaware.

Nunn won his primary rather easily, but not before absorbing some bitter, well-publicized attacks from Gable. The state of affairs among the Republicans presented a sharp contrast to the harmony among the Democrats. In the general election, Nunn could think of little other than an attempt to link Dee Huddleston, a small-town radio station owner, to George McGovern. The link must have appeared implausible to most Kentuckians: more to the point was Huddleston's main issue: that he had pushed through repeal of a 5% sales tax on food raised during Nunn's administration. Huddleston won by a small margin, one that paralleled Ford's victory the year before. Both men are from western Kentucky, where both ran especially well—far ahead of the national ticket.

Once in the Senate, Huddleston was expected to become one of the more conservative members of the Democratic Caucus. But as of this writing, the issues that have come before the 93rd Congress have united practically all of the Democrats, Northern and Southern, as well as some Republicans, against the Nixon Administration. Within this context, Huddleston has almost always voted with the vast majority of the Democrats in the Senate.

A bit more of a maverick is Kentucky's senior Senator, Marlow Cook. He is both a builder and a beneficiary of the state's most successful Republican organization, put together during the 1960s in Louisville and surrounding Jefferson County. Before his election to the Senate in 1968, Cook served for several years as Jefferson County Judge—the administrative head of the county government. In the Senate, Cook has been as vehement and forceful when opposing the Administration (he cast the deciding vote against the Carswell nomination) as when supporting it (he served as the Administration's floor leader in the Haynsworth nomination). He has also taken a variety of positions on national security issues, opposing the ABM as well as the Cooper-Church and other antiwar amendments. Just as the Watergate scandal broke, Cook was part of the solid Republican front (save Mathias of Maryland) on the Senate Judiciary Committee supporting the nomination of L. Patrick Gray as permanent FBI Director.

Cook seems like an unlikely man for high Kentucky office. He is a Roman Catholic who grew up in Akron, New York, a small town outside Buffalo. But his opponent in 1968 was also something of an outsider, Katherine Peden, then state commerce commissioner and a member of the Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders. Cook won a 37,000-vote victory in an election that fell out pretty much along traditional party allegiances in Kentucky.

The big question for 1974 is whether Cook will inherit Cooper's august, olympian mantle and win reelection easily, or whether the voters will perceive him a more partisan Republican figure at a time when the party's fortunes in the state have been sagging. A number of Democrats appear betting on the latter possibility. Among those interested in the 1974 race is John Y. Brown, Jr. The young man is a Kentucky Fried Chicken millionaire, having furnished the entrepreneurial fanaticism behind the success of Col. Sander's now famous recipe. Brown's talents—and money—were behind the 1972 Democratic telethon. Another Democratic contender is ex-Gov. Edward Breathitt, who succeeded Combs and who is most noted for his opposition to the many tactics of the state's coal mining interests. But Gov. Ford and State Chairman Miller will probably make the final decision; there is talk now that Ford himself might enter the race. As in 1972, Kentucky could again become the arena of one of the more interesting Senate campaigns of 1974.

**Census Data** Pop. 3,219,311; 1.59% of U.S. total, 23rd largest; change 1960–70, 6.0%. Central city, 17%; suburban, 23%. Median family income, $7,439; 46th highest; families above $15,000: 12%; families below $3,000: 18%. Median years education, 9.9.

**1972 Share of Federal Tax Burden** $2,403,710,000; 1.15% of U.S. total, 24th largest.

**1972 Share of Federal Outlays** $2,931,044,550; 1.35% of U.S. total, 26th largest. Per capita federal spending, $910.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DOD | $639,933,000 | 29th (1.02%) | HEW | $1,082,357,392 | 22nd (1.52%) |
| AEC | $91,385,054 | 14th (3.49%) | HUD | $45,216,407 | 22nd (1.47%) |
| NASA | $349,732 | 39th (0.01%) | VA | $194,806,479 | 23rd (1.70%) |
| DOT | $174,550,472 | 16th (2.21%) | USDA | $228,020,117 | 27th (1.48%) |
| DOC | $9,110,844 | 27th (0.70%) | CSC | $42,548,306 | 25th (1.03%) |
| DOI | $15,257,380 | 32nd (0.72%) | TD | $150,647,400 | 17th (0.91%) |
| DOJ | $14,574,346 | 23rd (1.48%) | Other | $242,287,621 | |

**Key Votes**

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1) Busing | AGN | 8) Sea Life Prot | AGN | 15) Tax Singls Less | AGN |
| 2) Alas P-line | AGN | 9) Campaign Subs | AGN | 16) Min Tax for Rich | FOR |
| 3) Gun Cntrl | FOR | 10) Cmbodia Bmbg | AGN | 17) Euro Troop Rdctn | AGN |
| 4) Rehnquist | FOR | 11) Legal Srvices | AGN | 18) Bust Hwy Trust | AGN |
| 5) Pub TV $ | FOR | 12) Rev Sharing | FOR | 19) Maid Min Wage | FOR |
| 6) EZ Votr Reg | AGN | 13) Cnsumr Prot | FOR | 20) Farm Sub Limit | AGN |
| 7) No-Fault | AGN | 14) Eq Rts Amend | FOR | 21) Highr Credt Chgs | FOR |

**Election Results**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1968 general: | Marlow W. Cook (R) | 484,260 | (51%) |
| | Katherine Peden (D) | 448,960 | (48%) |
| | Duane F. Olsen (AI) | 9,645 | (1%) |
| 1968 primary: | Marlow W. Cook (R) | 73,171 | (62%) |
| | Eugene Siler (R) | 39,743 | (34%) |
| | E. W. Kemp (R) | 3,104 | (3%) |
| | Thurman J. Hamlin (R) | 2,015 | (2%) |

**Senator**

**Walter** (Dee) Huddleston (D) Elected 1972, seat up 1978; b. April 15, 1926, Cumberland County; home, Elizabethtown; U. of K., B.A., 1949; Army, WWII; married, two children; Methodist.

*Career* Gen. Mgr., WIEL, Elizabethtown, 1952; Pres., Kentucky Broadcasting Assoc., State Senate, 1966-72; State Chairman, Wendell Ford's gubernatorial campaign, 1971.

*Offices* 3327 NSOB, 202-225-2542. Also New Fed. Bldg., Louisville, 502-582-6304.

*Administrative Assistant* Philip L. Swift

**Committees**

*Agriculture and Forestry* (6th); Subs: Environment, Soil Conservation and Forestry; Agricultural Credit and Rural Electrification; Agricultural Production, Marketing and Stabilization of Prices (Chm.); Foreign Agricultural Policy.

*Government Operations* (10th); Subs: Permanent Investigations; Budgeting, Management, and Expenditures.

**Group Ratings: Newly Elected**

**Election Results**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1972 general: | Walter "Dee" Huddleston (D) | 528,550 | (51%) |
| | Louie B. Nunn (R) | 494,337 | (48%) |
| | Helen Breeden (AI) | 8,707 | (1%) |
| | William E. Bartley, Jr. (People's Party) | 6,267 | (1%) |
| 1972 primary: | Walter "Dee" Huddleston (D) | 106,144 | (72%) |
| | Sandy Hockensmith (D) | 14,786 | (10%) |
| | James E. Wallace (D) | 11,290 | (8%) |
| | Willis V. Johnson (D) | 8,727 | (6%) |
| | Charles Van Winkle (D) | 7,306 | (5%) |

**Economic Base** Agriculture, notably tobacco, cattle, dairy products, and hogs; finance, insurance and real estate; electrical equipment and supplies, especially household appliances; machinery; bituminous coal mining; apparel and other textile products, especially men's and boys' furnishings; food and kindred products, especially distilled liquor and other beverages.

**Political Line-up** Governor, Wendell H. Ford (D); seat up, 1975. Senators, Marlow W. Cook (R) and Walter Huddleston (D). Representatives, 7 (5 D and 2 R). State Senate (63 D and 27 R); State House (27 D and 10 R).

**The Voters**

*Registration* 1,454,575 Total. 946,169 D (65%); 475,764 R (33%); 32,642 other (2%).
*Median voting age* 43.1
*Employment profile* White collar, 40%. Blue collar, 41%. Service, 13%. Farm, 6%.
*Ethnic groups* Black, 7%. Total foreign stock, 2%.

*Presidential vote*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *1972* | Nixon (R) | 676,446 | (65%) |
| | McGovern (D) | 371,159 | (35%) |
| *1968* | Nixon (R) | 462,411 | (44%) |
| | Humphrey (D) | 397,541 | (38%) |
| | Wallace (AI) | 193,098 | (18%) |
| *1964* | Johnson (D) | 669,659 | (64%) |
| | Goldwater (R) | 372,977 | (36%) |

## Senate Candidates

### ROBERT B. MORGAN (D), 48

**Profession:** North Carolina attorney general since 1969.

**Born:** Oct. 5, 1925, Harnett County, North Carolina.

**Home:** Lillington, N.C.

**Religion:** Baptist.

**Education:** University of North Carolina, B.S., 1945; Wake Forest University, LL.B., 1950.

**Previous public offices:** Clerk of Harnett County Superior Court, 1950-54; state senate, 1955-69.

**Unsuccessful campaigns:** None.

**Military:** Navy, 1944-46; discharged as ensign.

**Memberships:** American, North Carolina Bar Associations; Masons; Rotary; American Legion.

**Family:** Wife, Katie; three children.

Robert B. Morgan

Gary W. Hart

**CHALLENGER: GARY W. HART (D), 36**

**Profession:** Attorney.
**Born:** Nov. 28, 1937, Ottawa, Kan.
**Home:** Denver, Colo.
**Religion:** Presbyterian.
**Education:** Bethany (Okla.) College, B.A., 1958; Yale University, B.D., 1961; LL.B., 1964.
**Previous public offices:** None.
**Unsuccessful campaigns:** None.
**Military:** None.
**Memberships:** American, Colorado and Denver Bar Associations.
**Family:** Wife, Lee; two children.

# TENNESSEE

## Political Background

Tennessee currently represents the number-one success story for the Republican party in the South. For the first time in its history, Tennessee has two Republican Senators, a Republican Governor, and a majority-Republican delegation in the House of Representatives. In 1968, Richard Nixon carried the state with just a fraction under 38%, his smallest winning percentage; but in 1972, of course, Nixon triumphed here easily. The Republican upsurge in Tennessee during the 1960s and early 1970s is a story of talented young men overthrowing the remnants of a once-vigorous Democratic hierarchy. It is not yet clear whether the Republican talent in the state possesses the depth its Democratic predecessors lacked, but at the moment, the Republicans are probably in better shape here than in any state in the Union.

Any study of Tennessee politics should begin with topography. The state is divisible into three distinct sections, each with its own history and political inclination. East Tennessee is part of the Appalachian chain, an area populated almost completely by white mountaineers. East Tennessee produced Andrew Johnson, Lincoln's vice-presidential choice and successor. It was against secession in 1861, and has since remained one of the most Republican areas of the entire nation. The Republicanism of the mountaineers has usually been matched by the Democratic leaning of middle Tennessee. This is a region of hilly farmland which, in rough terms, lies between the lower Tennessee River and the Appalachians. Middle Tennessee was the home of Andrew Jackson, the first President to call himself a Democrat, and since Jackson's time, the area has remained Democratic in practically every election. West Tennessee, the flat cotton-lands along the Mississippi River, was the part of the state with the largest slave-tended plantations. Like middle Tennessee, it has been Democratic by tradition. Lately, however, west Tennessee has begun to vote much more like the rest of the Deep South. When middle Tennessee stayed with the national Democratic party in 1964, west Tennessee moved toward the Goldwater candidacy.

Urban-rural differences have not been nearly as important in Tennessee as elsewhere. The state's four large cities vote more like the rural territory around them than like each other. Recently, Memphis, with a large black vote, has been slightly less conservative than the rest of west Tennessee, while Chattanooga, on the Georgia border, is traditionally less Republican than east Tennessee. But the political behavior of Nashville and Knoxville is virtually indistinguishable from the rural counties around them. In general, the cities are gaining more political importance; in 1964, the four major urban counties cast 42% of the states votes; in 1972, 46%.

So long as middle and west Tennessee remained strongly Democratic, the Republicans were unable to win a statewide election, no matter how many votes the party of Lincoln piled up in east Tennessee. Between Reconstruction and the 1960s, the allegiances created by the Civil War were forsaken only twice: once in the 1920 Harding landslide, when a Republican Governor was elected, and again in 1928 when Protestant Tennessee rejected Catholic Al Smith for Calvin Coolidge. Even the initial impact of the civil rights issues failed to shake the old patterns of political preference. The state's two Senators during the 1950s and 1960s, Estes Kefauver and

Albert Gore, had both come to office as liberal reformers. Both of them beat aged veterans supported by the equally aged Crump machine in Memphis. And both Kefauver and Gore supported, or a least failed to oppose very strenuously, civil rights legislation. Moreover, neither of them came close to defeat during this period. The decisive battle, it appears, occurred in the 1960 primary, when Kefauver took an overwhelming 65% against a hard-line, well-financed segregationist opponent.

Kefauver had long since won national fame for his investigations of organized crime—the first nationally televised congressional hearings. Overnight, the Tennessee Senator became a major presidential contender, and won several presidential primaries in 1952. But he could not overcome the support Adlai Stevenson had among the power brokers of the Democratic party. Trying again in 1956, Kefauver left the race and wound up as Stevenson's running mate, after edging out John F. Kennedy in a convention floor free-for-all. The last years of Kefauver's career were devoted to reform of the nation's drug laws. His tough bill, once gutted by lobbyists, was suddenly resurrected and passed in the wake of the publicity given the thalidomide tragedies.

Kefauver died in 1963. For his seat, there followed two spirited battles in the 1964 and 1966 Democratic primaries between Gov. Frank Clement and Rep. Ross Bass. It was like the old days, when winning the Democratic primary was tantamount to victory. But times were changing. The civil rights issues had begun to make conservatives out of many of the state's traditional Democrats—people who used to be more concerned about the TVA and the price of farm commodities than about race. Lyndon Johnson carried the state with just 55% of the votes, while Sen. Albert Gore was reelected with 54%. And in the other Senate race, a young east Tennessee lawyer named Howard Baker, Jr., came within 50,000 votes of upsetting Congressman Bass.

Baker was then only 38, with a prosperous law practice and a fine political pedigree. Both his father (1951–63) and stepmother (1963–65) served as Republican Representatives from the 2nd district; moreover, Baker's father-in-law was none other than Everett McKinley Dirksen. Earlier, Baker passed up a chance to run in his parents' old district; instead, he assembled an able, young organization for the 1964 Senate bid. Baker's campaign used the latest sophisticated techniques. It was not the sort of affair, traditional in Tennessee, of coming around to a town and swapping stories with old courthouse regulars. Unlike so many Southern Republicans, however, Baker did not exploit the civil rights issue. He could easily have done so, because his opponent, Bass, was one of the few Southern Congressmen who had voted for the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Baker was well prepared for another Senate campaign effort in 1966. Longtime Governor Frank Clement (1953–58 and 1963–66) defeated Bass this time in the Democratic primary. The nominee was still a young man who nonetheless personified the old virtues—and new liabilities—of traditional Tennessee Democrats. It was not so much Clement's moderate liberalism that hurt him, it was his style. Those who can recall his keynote speech at the 1956 Democratic National Convention remember his arm-waving, lecturn-thumping, florid oratorical style. The speech was the kind that used to liven up a hot afternoon on the courthouse square, but in the age of television campaigning, it was obsolete. So, long before commentators began to talk about the youth and peace vote, Howard Baker had sewed up the young vote in Tennessee—not just in the growing cities, but in the countryside as well. Viewers of the Watergate hearings know that Baker's demeanor is not one of an arm-waver. Baker defeated Clement in 1966, with 56% of the votes.

The Watergate hearings have made Baker something of a media star and a possible presidential candidate—a summer 1973 poll showed the Tennessee Senator running ahead of Edward Kennedy, 45–44. The way Baker got where he is tells us something about the way he operates. In early 1973, as the Senate considered ways to set up the Watergate committee, it was Baker who carried the ball for the Republicans. He backed amendments that would provide equal representation for each party on the committee, and tried to stretch the committee's mandate to cover Democratic practices in 1964 and 1968. Running with the Republican ball was not out of the Senator's character. In 1969, Baker, though only a freshman, was considered sufficiently partisan to enjoy the support of most conservative Republican Senators for the post of Minority Leader. He lost to Pennsylvania's supposedly more liberal Hugh Scott, then Whip, by a narrow 24–19 margin. And on most major issues, Baker took a conservative, pro-Nixon approach to things. For example, he consistently supported the Administration policy in Southeast Asia, and he slammed away at the Administration's media critics from his post on the Senate Commerce Committee.

There is, however, another side to Baker, which manifested itself during the Watergate hearings. He likes to reason carefully and speak a solemn lawyer-like language. And Baker is open to

persuasion. Back when his father-in-law Everett Dirksen was still Minority Leader, pushing for a constitutional repeal of the one-man-one-vote formula, Baker worked with Edward Kennedy on the opposite side of the issue—and won. In 1973, aside from his Watergate duties, he co-sponsored (with Edmund Muskie, fellow member of the Public Works Committee) a bill to allow states to divert money from the highway trust fund for mass-transit projects. The legislation went through at long last, though it opens only a small crack in the heretofore sacrosanct trust fund.

So if Baker usually takes the positions of a conventional conservative, he does not have a conventional mind. As he questioned Watergate witnesses, he probed constantly at personal motivation. So persistent was his almost philosophical line of inquiry that some found the approach tiresome. Baker worked closely with Chairman Sam Ervin. And though he tried to find areas of accommodation between the committee and the White House, Baker himself moved that the committee take legal action to secure the Nixon tapes.

But perhaps what most impressed TV viewers was Baker's boyish appearance—he kept reminding the audience that he had practiced law for 20 years. What was also most impressive was the clarity and precision with which he ad libbed questions and witty responses. Baker is surely presidential timber. But at this writing, he must, if he is ever to win the nomination, satisfy both the Republicans who believe their President and the general public, which is no longer buying used cars in Nixon's lot. The political pitfalls that Baker and other Watergate committee members face when writing their report are indeed legion. It is so difficult to gauge the effects of the language to be used that one can easily believe Baker when he says he will simply do what he thinks is right, without regard to political consequences.

Four of the members of the Watergate committee are up for reelection in 1974. Only Baker is fresh from a reelection victory in 1972, which was his easiest race. He ran a well-financed and superbly organized campaign, his young campaign group humming. Baker's most serious problem was the race issue. The Democratic challenger, Congressman Ray Blanton, did not criticize Baker's work on the passage of the 1968 fair housing act, but Blanton did come down on busing. In the Senate, Baker had supported anti-busing measures. But Baker, like the Democratic Senators who preceded him, had selected the federal judges who wrote major busing decisions—notably the one for Nashville, the state's second-largest (and most Democratic) city. Blanton's anti-busing strategy—tinged with a little populism—turned out to be a dud. The Democrat, unable to raise much money, lost even Democratic middle Tennessee. Meanwhile, Baker won about 40% of the black votes and picked up many white votes never before received by a Tennessee Republican. The phenomenal 62–38 victory means that Baker will have no more trouble winning elections in Tennessee.

Neither, it seems likely, will junior Senator Bill Brock, the millionaire heir to a candy fortune. In 1962, Brock was elected Congressman in a 3rd-district upset. He held on to his House seat, and then went after Sen. Albert Gore in 1970. The confrontation was a classic one, between Gore, the old-style populistic liberal, and Brock, the sleek, media-created conservative.

Gore—"the old grey fox" one Tennessee Republican called him—had been around a long time. First elected to the House in 1938, he moved up to the Senate in 1952. He was a dirt farmer's son who worked up through county politics and campaigned for Congress by playing a fiddle in country towns. Later, as a member of the Senate Finance Committee, Gore was one of the chief advocates of the little man against the big interests; most notably, the Senator pushed for progressive tax reform and higher Social Security benefits.

But in 1970, Gore was vulnerable. During the mid-1960s, he had become a critic of the Vietnam war—a stand not particularly popular in hell-of-a-fellow Tennessee. Moreover, the Senator had openly proclaimed his support of civil rights legislation, voted against the Haynsworth and Carswell nominations, and cast votes against the ABM and SST. Vice-President Agnew thereupon called Gore the number-one target of the Nixon Administration—a designation Gore acknowledged with pride. The Senator even welcomed Agnew to Tennessee when the Vice-President arrived at the Memphis airport to denounce him. During the campaign, Republican orators were wont to follow Agnew's theme; they liked to call Gore the third Senator from Massachusetts—a reference perhaps to Edward Brooke, the black Senator from the New England state.

A shy man and a poor speaker, Brock hired Kenneth Rietz as his campaign manager; Rietz was out of the Harry (*Selling of the President 1968*) Treleaven political consulting firm. Brock, of course, had plenty of money and a good organization based on the Baker model. Everything

looked like a set-up for the challenger. In 1968, Hubert Humphrey—who took roughly the same stands on issues as Gore—won only 28% of Tennessee's votes, as George Wallace carried traditionally Democratic middle and west Tennessee. So Brock's barrage of TV ads attacked Gore as a backer of school busing, an opponent of school prayer, and in general a traitor to the South. But the old grey fox fought back. He cited Brock's votes in the House against Medicare and the Appalachia program, and then boasted of his own record on the issues.

It was a struggle, as Tom Wicker said, between attitudes and interests, and; as usual these days, attitudes won. Gore ran well in east Tennessee, though of course he failed to carry it, and held his own in middle Tennessee. But in west Tennessee, which has the state's largest black population and the most intense racial animosities, Gore ran 8% behind his 1964 showing. All in all, Brock won the election with 51% of the votes. Probably more than any other sitting Senator, Brock owes his place in the Senate to shrewd exploitation of racial fears and prejudices.

That is not, of course, the image Brock likes to project. According to rumors, Brock was a possible presidential candidate for a time in 1972 and 1973. The speculation started when he was appointed head of the Committee to Reelect's youth campaign. In that role, with the aid of his former campaign manager, Rietz, who ran the operation, Brock helped to produce a much higher percentage of the youth vote for Nixon than anyone had expected—most likely an absolute majority of those under 30. Brock's experiences in 1972 led him to buck most other Senate Republicans and to back the 1973 measure to allow the post-card registration of voters. He was convinced—and there is much evidence to support him—that a large percentage of those a little too apathetic to register otherwise would, if they voted, form part of Richard Nixon's New Majority.

After the 1972 election, Brock clearly became a favorite at the Nixon-Haldeman White House. He was named Chairman of the Senate Republican Campaign Committee. Moreover, his protégé Rietz was hired to run the New Majority campaign of the Republican National Committee. The Rietz operation was to recruit young conservative candidates for the 1974 congressional elections. Some muttered that the two groups developed into branches of the Brock-for-President drive.

Nevertheless, Brock began to get favorable notices in the press. As the Watergate cover-up unraveled, Brock came out with a set of compaign reform proposals. These included a ban on large cash contributions and a requirement that all contributions be channeled through a single bank account. Brock's reforms were plausible ones. Then, suddenly, bad publicity engulfed the Brock surge. First, it was reported that Brocks's former campaign manager Rietz was responsible for hiring at least one undercover agent to infiltrate the McGovern campaign. Second, Brock himself was shown to have a financial interest in a land-development scheme that allegedly employed fraudulent advertising. The scheme was the type regulated by HUD, whose affairs Brock supervised as a member of the Senate Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs Committee.

No one has proven any wrongdoing on Brock's part. He apparently left the details of the Youth for President drive to Rietz, and had nothing to do with the management of the real estate business. Nevertheless, Brock's reputation was tarnished enough to stop all further presidential talk. Moreover, once the cameras closed in on the Watergate hearings, it became clear that if Tennessee was to have a presidental candidate, Howard Baker was the man. At this writing, Brock appears reasonably sure of winning reelection in 1976, but he will have to postpone any plans he may have had for higher office until some more propitious time.

In 1974, the main event in Tennessee politics is the gubernatorial contest. Winfield Dunn is not eligible for reelection; he is the Memphis dentist who became the state's first Republican Governor in 48 years. The list of possible contenders, both Democratic and Republican, is too long to recount here. The important question is whether the Republican party of Howard Baker and Bill Brock will sustain its dominance of the state's politics. Republican margins in Tennessee looked a little shaky in 1970, but 1972 was the party's best year yet. The Republicans not only carried the statewide races, they picked up a congressional seat even as the state lost one in the 1970 census. The taking of an additional seat looks all the more impressive because the redistricting plan was drawn by the Democratic legislature and effected over Gov. Dunn's veto.

To be sure, six of the eight districts as redrawn had shown Democratic margins in the 1970 congressional elections. But those advantages stemmed from popular incumbents running in areas switched to other districts; an unfamilar Democrat running in the same areas could not sustain the margins received by incumbent Democrats. In the end, the Republicans held two seats that looked shaky on paper (the 3rd and the 8th) and captured another held by a Democrat (the 6th). The

1972 elections marked the first time that the Republicans had ever won a majority of the state's House delegation. It was also a classic example of a redistricting plan backfiring on its creators.

The Democratic party of Estes Kefauver and Albert Gore has now virtually disappeared from Tennessee politics. Why? Because of a lack of depth. The brightest people in the party, it seems, went to Washington or became federal judges. Those left were tobacco-chewing old-timers who could not compete for young votes in statewide elections featuring sleek Republicans like Baker, Brock, and Dunn. Do the Republicans have any more depth themselves? The answer, so far, is yes. For example, Robin Beard, the new Congressman from the 6th, is one of the dozens of talented, attractive young men groomed for public office by the Baker-Brock-Dunn organizations. There are plenty of others—people like Fred Thompson, the minority counsel on the Watergate committee. Tennessee Republicans have so far been unable to win control of the state legislature. They have, however, come close, despite Democratic redistricting plans. For the future, one can point to the race run by a state legislator elected from Memphis. He was the president of the Memphis State University student body chosen for the state House with the support of both blacks and students—and a Republican.

**Census Data** Pop. 3,924,164; 1.94% of U.S. total, 17th largest; change 1960–70, 10.0%. Central city, 35%; suburban, 14%. Median family income, $7,447; 45th highest; families above $15,000: 12%; families below $3,000: 17%. Median years education, 10.7.

**1972 Share of Federal Tax Burden** $3,051,670,000; 1.46% of U.S. total, 21st largest.

**1972 Share of Federal Outlays** $3,937,902,212; 1.82% of U.S. total, 18th largest. Per capita federal spending, $1,004.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DOD | $671,953,000 | 27th (1.08%) | HEW | $1,231,190,187 | 18th (1.72%) |
| AEC | $321,827,413 | 2nd (12.28%) | HUD | $66,869,927 | 16th (2.18%) |
| NASA | $1,130,567 | 33rd (0.04%) | VA | $255,931,422 | 15th (2.24%) |
| DOT | $139,643,282 | 22nd (1.77%) | USDA | $497,899,947 | 9th (3.24%) |
| DOC | $9,863,393 | 25th (0.76%) | CSC | $50,247,917 | 22nd (1.22%) |
| DOI | $9,239,101 | 38th (0.44%) | TD | $123,260,419 | 19th (0.75%) |
| DOJ | $13,219,457 | 29th (1.35%) | Other | $545,626,180 | |

**Economic Base** Apparel and other textile products, especially men's and boys' furnishings; agriculture, notably cattle, dairy products, soybeans and tobacco; finance, insurance and real estate; chemicals and allied products, especially plastics materials and synthetics; electrical equipment and supplies, especially household appliances; food and kindred products; textile mill products, especially knitting mills.

**Political Line-up** Governor, Winfield Dunn (R); seat up, 1974. Senators, Howard H. Baker, Jr. (R) and William E. Brock (R). Representatives, 8 (5 R and 3 D). State Senate (18 D, 13 R, and 1 AI); State House (51 D and 49 R).

**The Voters**

*Registration* 1,990,026 Total. No party registration.
*Median voting age* 42.7
*Employment profile* White collar, 41%. Blue collar, 42%. Service, 13%. Farm, 4%.
*Ethnic groups* Black, 16%. Total foreign stock, 2%.

*Presidential vote*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *1972* | Nixon (R) | 813,147 | (69%) |
| | McGovern (D) | 357,293 | (31%) |
| *1968* | Nixon (R) | 472,592 | (38%) |
| | Humphrey (D) | 351,233 | (28%) |
| | Wallace (AI) | 424,792 | (34%) |
| *1964* | Johnson (D) | 635,047 | (55%) |
| | Goldwater (R) | 508,965 | (45%) |

**Senator**

**Howard H. Baker, Jr.** (R) Elected 1966, seat up 1978; b. Nov. 15, 1925, Huntsville; home, Huntsville; Tulane U., U. of the South; U. of Tenn. Law Col., LL.B., 1949; Navy, WWII; Lt. USNR; married, two children, Presbyterian.

*Career* Practicing atty., 1949–66.

*Offices* 2107 NSOB, 202-225-4944. Also 1002 P.O. Bldg., Memphis 38101, 901-534-3861, and 313 P.O. Bldg., Knoxville 37901, 615-546-5486, and U.S. Courthouse, 801 Broadway, Nashville 37201, 615-749-5129, and 204 Fed. Bldg., Chattanooga 37402, 615-266-3151, and Tri-Cities Airport, Blountville, 37617, 615-323-6243.

*Administrative Assistant* Hugh Branson

**Committees**

*Commerce* (4th); Subs: Aviation; Communications (Ranking Mbr.); Foreign Commerce and Tourism; Environment; Surface Transportation.

*Public Works* (Ranking Mbr.); Sub: Air and Water Pollution.

*Sel. Com. on Presidential Campaign Activities* (Ranking Mbr.).

*Joint Com. on Atomic Energy* (4th); Subs: Communities; Military Applications; Energy; Licensing and Regulation; Security (Ranking Senate Mbr.).

**Group Ratings**

| | ADA | COPE | LWV | RIPON | NFU | LCV | CFA | NAB | NSI | ACA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1972 | 0 | 13 | 50 | 40 | 40 | 0 | 0 | 40 | 100 | 71 |
| 1971 | 4 | 27 | 50 | 39 | 30 | – | 0 | – | – | 55 |
| 1970 | 13 | 18 | – | 36 | 45 | 54 | – | 78 | 100 | 89 |

**Key Votes**

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1) Busing | AGN | 8) Sea Life Prot | ABS | 15) Tax Singls Less | FOR |
| 2) Alas P-line | FOR | 9) Campaign Subs | AGN | 16) Min Tax for Rich | ABS |
| 3) Gun Cntrl | AGN | 10) Cmbodia Bmbg | ABS | 17) Euro Troop Rdctn | AGN |
| 4) Rehnquist | FOR | 11) Legal Srvices | ABS | 18) Bust Hwy Trust | FOR |
| 5) Pub TV $ | AGN | 12) Rev Sharing | FOR | 19) Maid Min Wage | ABS |
| 6) EZ Votr Reg | AGN | 13) Cnsumr Prot | AGN | 20) Farm Sub Limit | AGN |
| 7) No-Fault | AGN | 14) Eq Rts Amend | FOR | 21) Highr Credt Chgs | FOR |

**Election Results**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1972 general: | Howard H. Baker, Jr. (R) | 716,539 | (62%) |
| | Ray Blanton (D) | 440,599 | (38%) |
| | Dan East (Ind.) | 7,026 | (1%) |
| 1972 primary: | Howard H. Baker, Jr. (R) | 242,373 | (93%) |
| | Hubert Patly (R) | 7,581 | (3%) |
| 1966 general: | Howard H. Baker, Jr. (R) | 483,063 | (56%) |
| | Frank G. Clement (D) | 383,843 | (44%) |

# ARIZONA

## Political Background

To most Americans, Arizona brings to mind the Grand Canyon, Navajo hogans, Tombstone and Wyatt Earp, or maybe even London Bridge, which thanks to a developer now sits proudly in a patch of Arizona desert. But the attention of a political analyst is focused almost entirely on Phoenix and Tucson. Some 55% of the state's voters live in greater Phoenix, and another 21% in and around Tucson. In 1940 the state had a population of 550,000; by 1970, it was 1,772,000, and still growing. A quite literal new majority has completely transformed the politics of Arizona in the last 25 years.

The change here is best illustrated by the contrasting careers of the state's two best-known politicians: Rep. (1912–27) and Sen. (1927–69) Carl Hayden, and Sen. (1953–65, 1969– ) Barry Goldwater. Hayden began his political career as a councilman in Tempe (formerly Hayden's Crossing) in 1902, when Phoenix was just a hot, sleepy depot-station on the Southern Pacific Railroad. Hayden was a Democrat, and a fairly conservative one—as was every successful Arizona politician until the 1950s. The state had a Democratic heritage that came out of the Southern origin of most of its early settlers, and the Mexican background of many of the rest. Although Arizona occasionally went Republican in national elections (it never supported a losing presidential candidate until 1960), Hayden and his fellow Democrats rarely had any difficulty with the voters. The basic Hayden success formula was to see that federal money was pumped into the state. Hayden was particularly interested in highways, but his last great legacy to his constituents was the Central Arizona Project, pushed through in 1968 during his last full year in Congress. This will presumably provide all the water that thirsty agricultural Arizona and urban Phoenix will ever need.

The birth of Arizona's now dominant conservative Republicanism can be dated with some accuracy to the year 1949, when Barry Goldwater, then proprietor of his family's Phoenix department store, was elected to the Phoenix City Council. The next year Goldwater helped Republican Howard Pyle win the governorship, and in 1952 the Republicans swept the state: Eisenhower won its electoral votes, Pyle was reelected, and Goldwater went to the United States Senate. (The man he beat, Sen. Ernest MacFarland, was then Senate Majority Leader, whose political demise set the stage for Lyndon Johnson's ascent to the Senate Democratic leadership.) Goldwater won reelection by a large margin in 1958, again against MacFarland; but the Republican directed the brunt of his rhetoric against national union leaders like the late Walter Reuther—labor leaders who then had, and still have, few members and little clout in Arizona.

The year 1958 was a bad one for conservative Republicans in most states. So Goldwater's victory elevated him to national prominence. His frank, often blunt and impolitic articulation of his beliefs brought him such devotion and volunteer support all over the country that he won the 1964 Republican presidential nomination without having to push himself too hard.

Since 1958, things have been very good for Arizona Republicans. They have lost only one major statewide race in the last 12 years, the governorship in 1964, and that was regained two years later. The loser in 1964 was Richard Kleindienst. Some of the bright young men who supported Goldwater during the fifties went on to serve in the Nixon Administration—Kleindienst himself as Attorney General, William Rehnquist as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, and Dean Burch of the FCC.

Migration patterns promise more of the same kind of politics for the state. The big influx, as Neil Peirce points out in *The Mountain States of America*, consists of white-collar technicians from

the South, Midwest, and southern California—the kind of people who made metropolitan Phoen more Republican in the 1972 presidential race than Orange County, California.

The long-range outlook for the Democrats looks bad. But in the short-run past, the Democra proved feisty in 1970 and 1972. The combativeness has not come from the so-called "pint Democrats, who still dominate the courthouses in the small counties and whose politics are simil to those of Carl Hayden's. Instead, the surprisingly aggressive races have been run by urb Democratic candidates, mainly from Phoenix. These men have not held local office (because t Republicans win everything), and they have usually followed the trends established by t national party, with some concessions to local conservatism.

None of the urban Democrats has yet won a race, but some have come surprisingly clos Perhaps the most successful was Raul Castro (no relation to Fidel), a former judge an Ambassador to Bolivia and El Salvador. He just missed upsetting Gov. (and ex-TV newsma Jack Williams in 1970. Castro is considered to have an excellent chance of winning t Governorship in 1972. Castro's 1970 ticket-mate, Sam Grossman, a shopping center magnate fro California, also managed to scare Sen. Paul Fannin, until certain questions arose about t legitimacy of Grossman's Arizona residency. There were no major statewide races in 1972. But i two congressional districts Democrats put on strong campaigns, and in one of them—the new created 4th district—came close to scoring an upset.

Meanwhile, Arizona has, in Goldwater and Fannin, about as conservative a Senate delegatio as there is. Goldwater, who was once a Brigadier General in the Air Force Reserves, has alway sustained a great interest in military policy, and, of course, in high defense spending. He currently the ranking minority member of the Aeronautics and Space Sciences Committee an also serves on Armed Services. By now he would have been the ranking Republican on Arme Services, had he not given up his Senate seat to run for the presidency. That decision—to give up safe Senate seat for a presidential effort he never believed he could win—is typical of Barr Goldwater. He is among the most principled and least ambitious politicians in Washington. An his principles sometimes lead him in directions that run contrary to his political loyalties Goldwater, for example, was one of the Senate's leading opponents of the draft, on libertaria philosophical grounds. He also voted against the Nixon Administration's proposal to bail ou Lockheed. Here he cited a basic assumption of free enterprise; if a company cannot operat profitably, it deserves to go under.

As the 93rd Congress convened, there was talk that Goldwater might choose to retire in 197 when he will be 65. At that time, it appeared as though he could have returned to his mountaintop home near Phoenix with the satisfaction that he had accomplished most of what he set out to d 25 years earlier; with Nixon's 1972 landslide victory, the American people, it seemed, ha vindicated the positions the Arizonan took in the 1964 campaign. Then the full Watergate sto broke. Goldwater was clearly appalled. He spoke out early and on frequent occasions thereafter. despite his previous strong support of Nixon, Goldwater said that the President should resign if h had lied about the break-in or the cover-up. Goldwater's statements cued responses from man other conservatives, who then began to criticize harshly the tactics of the Committee to Reelec the President. Goldwater himself would never tolerate unseemly political behavior; no hint o scandal ever touched his 1964 campaign or his Arizona Senate races. At this writing, it appear Watergate has so stung Goldwater that he has decided to stay in the 1974 contest, which mean staying in the Senate. Democratic Congressman Morris Udall has reportedly considered makin the race, but everyone expects Goldwater, if he runs, to win easily, especially after his reaction t Watergate.

Fannin, who easily won the seat Goldwater relinquished in 1964, makes less of a splash in th Senate. He serves quietly on the Finance and Interior committees. In late 1971 and early 1972 however, he did win some headlines in Phoenix, when he was arrested on a drunk-driving charge According to columnist Jack Anderson, local authorities purposely blew the prosecution to le Fannin off; later, Fannin was convicted. It is generally expected that Fannin will retire in 197 when his seat comes up and when he will be 69.

Arizona has gained one congressional seat in each of the last three censuses, and all three of th new seats have eventually been captured by the Republicans. The heavily Republican legislatur split Phoenix and surrounding Maricopa County among three districts, thereby insurin Phoenix—and Republican—domination of each. The remaining seat is held in secure fashion b Democrat Morris Udall, but if Udall runs for the Senate, as he is expected to do in 1976, th district could go either way.

# ARIZONA

**Census Data** Pop. 1,772,482; 0.88% of U.S. total, 33rd largest; change 1960–70, 36.1%. Central city, 27%; suburban, 48%. Median family income, $9,186; 24th highest; families above $15,000: 14%; families below $3,000: 11%. Median years education, 12.3.

**1972 Share of Federal Tax Burden** $1,630,340,000; 0.78% of U.S. total, 31st largest.

**1972 Share of Federal Outlays** $2,320,091,012; 1.07% of U.S. total, 30th largest. Per capita federal spending, $1,309.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DOD | $884,370,000 | 20th (1.41%) | HEW | $623,441,050 | 34th (0.87%) |
| AEC | $366,978 | 36th (0.01%) | HUD | $22,584,011 | 34th (0.74%) |
| NASA | $6,208,036 | 23rd (0.21%) | VA | $135,959,106 | 32nd (1.19%) |
| DOT | $89,625,388 | 30th (1.14%) | USDA | $125,062,983 | 37th (0.81%) |
| DOC | $5,530,303 | 36th (0.43%) | CSC | $54,116,995 | 21st (1.31%) |
| DOI | $184,517,748 | 3rd (8.70%) | TD | $57,459,256 | 34th (0.35%) |
| DOJ | $14,571,635 | 24th (1.48%) | Other | $116,277,523 | |

**Economic Base** Finance, insurance and real estate; electrical equipment and supplies, especially electronic components and accessories; agriculture, notably cattle, cotton lint, lettuce and dairy products; metal mining, especially copper ores; machinery, especially office and computing machines; food and kindred products; tourism.

**Political Line-up** Governor, Jack Williams (R); seat up, 1974. Senators, Paul J. Fannin (R) and Barry M. Goldwater (R). Representatives, 4 (3 R and 1 D). State Senate (18 R and 12 D); State House (38 R and 22 D).

**The Voters**

*Registration* 861,812 Total. 455,985 D (53%); 362,196 R (42%); 43,631 other (5%).
*Median voting age* 42.0
*Employment profile* White collar, 51%. Blue collar, 32%. Service, 14%. Farm, 3%.
*Ethnic groups* Black, 3%. Indian, 5%. Spanish, 19%. Total foreign stock, 17%. Canada, Germany, 1% each.

*Presidential vote*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *1972* | Nixon (R) | 402,812 | (67%) |
| | McGovern (D) | 198,540 | (33%) |
| *1968* | Nixon (R) | 266,721 | (55%) |
| | Humphrey (D) | 170,514 | (35%) |
| | Wallace (AI) | 46,573 | (10%) |
| *1964* | Johnson (D) | 237,753 | (50%) |
| | Goldwater (R) | 242,535 | (50%) |

**Senator**

**Barry M. Goldwater** (R) Elected 1968, seat up 1974; b. Jan. 1, 190- Phoenix; home, Phoenix; U. of Ariz., 1928; Army Air Corps, WWII married, four children; Episcopalian.

*Career* Major Gen. USAFER (Ret.), 1937–67; Pres., Goldwater's Inc. 1929; Chm, Bd., 1937–53; Phoenix City Council, 1949–51; U.S. Senate 1952–64; Repub. candidate for Pres. 1964.

*Offices* 440 OSOB, 202-225-2235. Also 5420 Fed. Bldg., Phoenix 8502[illegible] 602-261-4086, and P.O. Bldg., Scott and Broadway, Tucson 8570[illegible] 602-792-6334.

*Administrative Assistant* Terry Emerson (L.A.)

**Committees**

*Aeronautical and Space Sciences* (Ranking Mbr.).

*Armed Services* (4th); Subs: Research and Development; National Stockpile and Naval Petroleum Reserves; Preparedness Investigating; Tactical Air Power (Ranking Mbr.); Arms Contro (Ranking Mbr.).

**Group Ratings**

| | ADA | COPE | LWV | RIPON | NFU | LCV | CFA | NAB | NSI | ACA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1972 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 36 | 20 | 0 | 0 | 100 | 90 | 87 |
| 1971 | 4 | 10 | 0 | 33 | 14 | – | 0 | – | – | 100 |
| 1970 | 3 | 9 | – | 25 | 18 | 1 | – | 71 | 100 | 92 |

**Key Votes**

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1) Busing | AGN | 8) Sea Life Prot | AGN | 15) Tax Singls Less | ABS |
| 2) Alas P-line | FOR | 9) Campaign Subs | AGN | 16) Min Tax for Rich | ABS |
| 3) Gun Cntrl | AGN | 10) Cmbodia Bmbg | FOR | 17) Euro Troop Rdctn | AGN |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| )Rehnquist | FOR | 11) Legal Srvices | AGN | 18) Bust Hwy Trust | AGN |
| )Pub TV $ | ABS | 12) Rev Sharing | AGN | 19) Maid Min Wage | ABS |
| )EZ Votr Reg | AGN | 13) Cnsumr Prot | ABS | 20) Farm Sub Limit | AGN |
| )No-Fault | AGN | 14) Eq Rts Amend | AGN | 21) Highr Credt Chgs | ABS |

lection Results

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 68 general: | Barry Goldwater (R) | 274,607 | (57%) |
| | Roy Elson (D) | 205,338 | (43%) |
| 68 primary: | Barry Goldwater (R), unopposed | | |

# MARYLAND

**Political Background**

Maryland is one of the most diverse states. Its attenuated shape reflects this; although only eight other states are smaller in area, you must drive 350 miles entirely within the state to get from one end of it to the other. In that distance you will move from the south-of-the-Mason-Dixon-Line Eastern Shore, through the booming suburbs of Washington and Baltimore, past the industrial and multiethnic city of Baltimore, and up into the Appalachian Mountains. In the last few presidential elections, Maryland's demographic mix has made it the best statistical mirror of the nation's total voting patterns. The nuts and bolts of Maryland politics, however, are anything but typical.

The Maryland-Pennsylvania border constituted the original Mason-Dixon line. And up through World War II, conservative Democratic and Dixie-oriented rural Maryland, where one still finds an indigenous Southern accent, dominated the state's politics. Its only competition came from the old-fashioned machine in Baltimore. Today, Baltimore—now almost half black but still controlled by remnants of the old machine—casts less than 20% of Maryland's votes. The rural areas cast only another 20%. The remaining 60% of the voters are to be found split about equally between suburban Baltimore and suburban Washington, D.C.

Just 40 miles apart, the two metropolitan areas could hardly be more different. A major port, Baltimore has big shipbuilding concerns and huge steel mills. The heavy industries attracted the kind of ethnic migration common to the cities of the East Coast, as well as a large black migration from the South. Of late, metropolitan Baltimore's growth has been rather sluggish; its politics—traditionally Democratic as seen in registration figures—has swung heavily to the Republicans, at least in presidential and senatorial contests.

Washington, of course, is a one-company town—the federal government, probably the nation's most impressive growth industry today. Accordingly, metropolitan Washington is booming. Of all the major urban agglomerations over one million in the country, only Houston has exceeded Washington's rate of growth during the 1960s. And most of the growth took place in the Maryland suburbs, where high-rise office buildings and apartment complexes stand in what was pasture land a few short years ago. So great is the boom here that the cost of homes in suburban Montgomery County, which enjoys the nation's highest family income, currently is rising at the rate of 20% annually.

The Maryland suburbs of Washington have none of the ethnic-industrial history of metropolitan Baltimore, nor have they been part of the conservative Republican trend found in other major urban areas along the East Coast. Montgomery County is especially liberal in its politics. Its favorite kind of candidate is a maverick Republican like Charles Mathias. With no such name appearing on the ballot, the county will usually go solidly Democratic. Prince Georges, the other Washington suburban county, is more blue-collar and more likely to give a large percentage of its votes to candidates like George Wallace. In 1972 and 1973, Prince Georges has

experienced a lively controversy over busing. But the county has also taken a large influx of middle-class blacks from Washington; the black population rose here from 31,000 in 1960 (9%) to 92,000 in 1970 (14%). And since 1970, the influx has proceeded at an even faster rate. As a result, the percentage of black voters in Maryland is probably rising more rapidly than in any other state in the country.

Six years ago, Maryland had two Democratic Senators; now it has two Republicans. The man most responsible for the switch is not Maryland's best-known politician, Spiro Agnew, but the man who made Agnew's political career possible. He is George Mahoney, a 70-year-old contractor who has run for Governor and Senator eight times and never won a general election. During the 1950s, Mahoney's independent candidacies helped to produce victories for Republican Senators J. Glenn Beall, Sr. (1952) and John Marshall Butler (1956). In 1966, Mahoney decided to run for Governor in the Democratic primary on the slogan "Your home is your castle"—a message designed to convey the candidate's opposition to open-housing legislation. Mahoney squeaked out a win over liberal Congressman-at-Large Carlton Sickles. In the general election that followed, blacks and liberals deserted Mahoney in droves, as they supported the unknown Republican nominee, Baltimore County Executive Spiro Agnew. If Sickles had gotten just 1,940 more votes in the primary, Agnew would almost certainly have remained a prosperous lawyer in suburban Baltimore, expounding his curious political theories around the country-club swimming pool. Today, Agnew keeps fancier company on the Palm Springs golf links, and his alliterative rhetoric has become a national staple; a few hundred votes can make a lot of difference in American politics. But just as this book is written, a new and even more amazing phase of Agnew's public life has begun. In August 1973, it was revealed that the Vice-President was under federal investigation in Baltimore on bribery and extortion charges, for allegedly taking kickbacks while Baltimore County Executive, Governor, and Vice-President. At this writing, it appears entirely possible that an indictment will be handed down. Just what will happen, no one can say. The possibilities range from total vindication and a successful run for the White House in 1976, to total disgrace, impeachment, and a jail term. With all that at stake, Agnew has handled questions with the cool aplomb that is perhaps his greatest asset in public life.

Mahoney also played a part in the 1968 and 1970 Senate races. In 1968, he ran as an independent and took 13% of the votes, enough to allow Rep. Charles Mathias to win easily with 48%. Mathias, a liberal Republican, beat his old law school roommate, Sen. Daniel Brewster, a horsey-set millionaire, who a few years earlier appeared to have a safe seat. But Brewster's political vulnerability became glaringly evident when in the 1964 presidential primary he ran as an LBJ stand-in against George Wallace. During the next few years, his problem with alcohol spun completely out of control; in 1972, the ex-Senator was convicted on federal bribery charges.

During his first term, Mathias became one of the Senate's most respected men. In 1968, he campaigned as something of a dove on Vietnam (Brewster supported LBJ down the line), and since then the Senator has opposed many of the policies of the Nixon Administration. Mathias' special interest is the political process: he has introduced a bill for public financing of presidential campaigns; another to require the executive branch to provide Congress with more information and data; and a third to end the vast state-of-emergency powers still available to Presidents under Harry Truman's Korean War proclamation of 1950. In the spring of 1972, just as Watergate broke, Mathias delivered a major speech in which he argued that no public official should subordinate loyalty to the Constitution to an allegiance to a particular political officeholder. In the Senate Judiciary Committee, Mathias cast the vote that denied acting FBI Director L. Patrick Gray a permanent job. The Senator's decision has come to look like a good one. According to many sources, Gray apparently destroyed some of E. Howard Hunt's files and in other ways helped to obstruct the Watergate investigation.

Mathias has never been in high favor at the Nixon White House. For a while, some observers felt that he was to be singled out for political extinction in the same manner New York's Charles Goodell was in 1970. But Watergate ended all such speculation. Besides, Mathias has kept his local political fences in good order. The Senator has not supported the anti-busing outcries in Prince Georges County, managing at the same time to avoid unduly irritating Maryland busing foes. And though he is a strong proponent of home rule for the District of Columbia, Mathias, as the ranking Republican on the District Committee, has insisted that Congress prohibit the new D.C. government from taxing commuters who live in the suburbs. So when the politician Mathias had a big fundraiser in May of 1973, Barry Goldwater and Charles Percy were both there, and Spiro Agnew sent warm greetings. In 1974, the Maryland Senator's likely opponent is state House of Delegates Speaker, Thomas Hunter Lowe, a conservative Democrat from the Eastern Shore. If

the busing issue stays hot, Lowe might do well in Prince Georges; otherwise Mathias should win easily.

George Mahoney played another important role in the Senate race of 1970. This time he ran in the Democratic primary against incumbent Sen. Joseph Tydings. Tydings was in trouble with the right for his support of gun-control legislation and with the left for his support of the no-knock District of Columbia crime bill. Other, less ideological Maryland voters found him cold and aloof. The kind of people who would vote in a Republican primary in other places participate in Maryland's Democratic primary. Some 71% of the voters are registered Democrats, a vestige of the state's Southern tradition. Given such circumstances, Mahoney held Tydings down to 53% of the primary vote.

In the general election, Tydings' trouble was so bad that his opponent, Rep. J. Glenn Beall, Jr., son of the man Tydings beat easily six years before, ran a quiet, relaxed campaign. The gun lobby took aim at Tydings, pouring in money and thousands of brochures. But the White House delivered the coup de grace. Nixon aide Charles Colson, whose role in the Watergate is unclear at this writing, had charges leaked to *Life* magazine that Tydings used his influence to benefit a Florida company in which he was a large stockholder. Beall won the election by a 24,000-vote, 51–48 margin. A week after the election, John Mitchell's Justice Department cleared Tydings of any conflict of interest.

In Washington, Beall has been a much quieter Senator than his colleague Mathias, and also more amenable to the wishes of the Nixon Administration. This is no surprise, considering how Beall won his seat. When he comes up for reelection in 1976, many Democrats will probably want a serious crack at him.

When Spiro Agnew resigned the governorship to become Vice-President, Marvin Mandel was Speaker of the Maryland House of Delegates. As a Jewish representative of a small portion of Baltimore, Mandel could hardly have hoped to win the governorship in a general election. But under the antiquated Maryland Constitution as it then stood, Agnew's successor was chosen by the legislature—where Mandel's influence and adroitness proved decisive. To some outsiders, Mandel looked vulnerable in 1970. Sargent Shriver, recently returned from a stint as Ambassador to France, made plans for a campaign that year. But Mandel amassed a bulging campaign chest, put on a big advertising campaign, and literally bluffed Shriver out of the race. Mandel's undoubted competence as Governor, coupled with his ability to placate the state's diverse voting blocs on various issues, produced an easy 65–35 general election victory over C. Stanley Blair, a protégé of the Vice-President.

As 1973 opened, Mandel seemed in even better shape for 1974. He had already raised $1 million for his 1974 campaign, preempting virtually all the big financial support in the state. Then, over the Fourth of July weekend, Mandel announced that he wanted to divorce his wife and marry a younger Catholic divorcee. But Mrs. Mandel did not go along with the game plan. She announced her adamant determination to keep both her husband and her address in the Governor's mansion; at this writing, she is living in the Mansion in Annapolis and the Governor is staying at a hotel. As interest in this imbroglio soared, the Governor's political fortunes sagged, and two Republican Congressmen, Gilbert Gude and Lawrence Hogan, hinted at their availability for the 1974 Republican nomination—an honor that would have gone begging a few months before. Meanwhile, Maryland's Republican party was split by Watergate-related charges—its Chairman borrowed $50,000 from Maurice Stans and the Committee to Reelect the President to make a Salute-to-Agnew fundraiser look like a roaring success. Maryland Republicans were presumably not helped either by the Agnew developments or the suicide earlier in the year of 1st-district Congressman William Mills. Maryland politics promises to be anything but boring in 1974; as one Hill aide said, "it's all so sordid that the voters may just decide to vote against all incumbents."

**Census Data** Pop. 3,922,399; 1.94% of U.S. total, 18th largest; change 1960–70, 26.5%. Central city, 23%; suburban, 61%. Median family income, $11,057; 5th highest; families above $15,000: 29%; families below $3,000: 7%. Median years education, 12.1.

**1972 Share of Federal Tax Burden** $4,640,210,000; 2.22% of U.S. total, 12th largest.

**1972 Share of Federal Outlays** $5,490,049,336; 2.53% of U.S. total, 13th largest. Per capita federal spending, $1,400.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DOD | $1,846,438,000 | 11th (2.95%) | HEW | $1,785,643,962 | 11th (2.50%) |
| AEC | $93,139,160 | 13th (3.55%) | HUD | $60,775,165 | 20th (1.98%) |
| NASA | $275,281,253 | 3rd (9.20%) | VA | $178,942,288 | 24th (1.56%) |
| DOT | $161,436,480 | 19th (2.05%) | USDA | $151,760,878 | 35th (0.99%) |
| DOC | $293,495,900 | 1st (22.67%) | CSC | $244,439,408 | 5th (5.93%) |
| DOI | $24,705,409 | 22nd (1.16%) | TD | $91,693,865 | 27th (0.56%) |
| DOJ | $17,564,999 | 17th (1.79%) | Other | $264,732,569 | |

**Economic Base** Finance, insurance and real estate; primary metal industries, especially blast furnaces and steel mills; food and kindred products, agriculture, notably dairy products, broilers, cattle and corn; electrical equipment and supplies, especially communication equipment; transportation equipment, especially motor vehicles and equipment and ship building and repairing; apparel and other textile products.

**Political Line-up** Governor, Marvin Mandel (D); seat up, 1974. Senators, Charles McC. Mathias, Jr. (R) and J. Glenn Beall, Jr. (R). Representatives, 8 (4 D and 4 R). State Senate (33 D and 10 R); House of Delegates (121 D and 21 R).

**The Voters**

*Registration* 1,815,784 Total. 1,260,477 D (69%); 483,623 R (27%); 71,684 other (4%).
*Median voting age* 41.2
*Employment profile* White collar, 56%. Blue collar, 31%. Service, 12%. Farm, 1%.
*Ethnic groups* Black, 18%. Spanish, 1%. Total foreign stock, 12%, Germany, 2%, Italy, USSR, UK, Poland, 1% each.

*Presidential vote*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *1972* | Nixon (R) | 829,305 | (62%) |
| | McGovern (D) | 505,781 | (38%) |
| *1968* | Nixon (R) | 517,995 | (42%) |
| | Humphrey (D) | 538,310 | (43%) |
| | Wallace (Al) | 178,734 | (15%) |
| *1964* | Johnson (D) | 730,912 | (66%) |
| | Goldwater (R) | 385,495 | (34%) |

**Senator**

**Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.** (R) Elected 1968, seat up 1974; b. July 24, 1922, Frederick; home, Frederick; Haverford College, B.A., 1944; Yale, 1943–44; U. of Md., LL.B., 1949; USNR, WWII; married, two children; Episcopalian.

*Career* Asst. Atty. Gen., 1953–54; City Atty., Frederick, 1954–59; Md. House of Delegates, 1958–60; U.S. House of Reps., 1961–69.

*Offices* 460 OSOB, 202-225-4654. Also Fed. Office Bldg., Baltimore 21201, 301-962-4850, and P.O. Bldg., Hagerstown 21740,301-733-2710.

*Administrative Assistant* Samuel Goldberg

**Committees**

*Appropriations* (9th); Subs: District of Columbia (Ranking Mbr.); Foreign Operations; Housing and Urban Development, Space, Science and Veterans (Ranking Mbr.); Military Construction; Transportation.

*District of Columbia* (Ranking Mbr.); Sub: Health, Education, Welfare, and Safety.

*Judiciary* (6th); Subs: Administrative Practice and Procedure; Juvenile Delinquency; Penitentiaries; Refugees and Escapees; Separation of Powers (Ranking Mbr.).

*Sp. Com. on the Termination of the National Emergency* (Co-Chm.).

**Group Ratings**

| | ADA | COPE | LWV | RIPON | NFU | LCV | CFA | NAB | NSI | ACA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1972 | 60 | 80 | 100 | 87 | 67 | 57 | 82 | 60 | 38 | 32 |
| 1971 | 63 | 58 | 100 | 79 | 60 | – | 60 | – | – | 21 |
| 1970 | 78 | 83 | – | 87 | 69 | 0 | – | 33 | 0 | 15 |

**Key Votes**

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1) Busing | FOR | 8) Sea Life Prot | FOR | 15) Tax Singls Less | AGN |
| 2) Alas P-line | AGN | 9) Campaign Subs | FOR | 16) Min Tax for Rich | AGN |
| 3) Gun Cntrl | FOR | 10) Cmbodia Bmbg | AGN | 17) Euro Troop Rdctn | AGN |
| 4) Rehnquist | FOR | 11) Legal Srvices | FOR | 18) Bust Hwy Trust | FOR |
| 5) Pub TV $ | FOR | 12) Rev Sharing | FOR | 19) Maid Min Wage | FOR |
| 6) EZ Votr Reg | FOR | 13) Cnsumr Prot | FOR | 20) Farm Sub Limit | FOR |
| 7) No-Fault | AGN | 14) Eq Rts Amend | FOR | 21) Highr Credt Chgs | AGN |

**Election Results**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1968 general: | Charles McC. Mathias, Jr. (R) | 541,893 | (48%) |
| | Daniel B. Brewster (D) | 443,667 | (39%) |
| | George P. Mahoney (Ind.) | 148,467 | (13%) |
| 1968 primary: | Charles McC. Mathias, Jr. (R) | 66,777 | (80%) |
| | Frederick Harry Lee Simms (R) | 11,927 | (14%) |
| | Paul Wattay (R) | 4,790 | (6%) |

# PENNSYLVANIA

**Political Background**

A look at the map will illustrate how Pennsylvania got its nickname, the Keystone State. Pennsylvania connects New York state and New England with the rest of the country. For many years, the geography of Pennsylvania promised to make it the commercial and transportation hub of the nation, as indeed it was at the time the Constitution was ratified. But things failed to work

out that way. The rugged mountains of central Pennsylvania stalled the early development of transportation arteries west. And it was New York City, rather than Philadelphia, that thrived from the building of the Erie Canal and the first water-level railroad line west. In 1776, Philadelphia, home of the remarkable Benjamin Franklin, was the nation's capital and largest city. Within 50 years, it was eclipsed by Washington in the affairs of government and New York City in commerce. And New Englanders will argue that Boston was never surpassed as the nation's center of culture and education.

During the late nineteenth century, however, Pennsylvania experienced a second renaissance based on the then-booming industries of coal and steel. Immigrants poured in to work the mines of Scranton and the steel mills of Pittsburgh—flush towns in those days. The boom ended conclusively with the coming of the Great Depression of the 1930s, and good times have yet to return to much of Pennsylvania. The coal industry collapsed after World War II, and though doing better of late, employs far fewer people than it did in the 1920s. Pennsylvania steel, meanwhile, has long since grown complacent. Because it chose to ignore technological advances following World War II, its ancient mills are today far less efficient than the modern steel plants constructed in bombed-out West Germany and Japan. Indeed, the industry here appears to have thrown in the towel, refusing to compete any longer. Management and the United Steel Workers have mounted a major campaign for steel import quotas. A century ago, steel producers wanted high tariffs, arguing that theirs was an "infant industry" needing protection. Today, they want the same protection, arguing, it seems, that they are a senile one.

These economic developments have left Pennsylvania in rather sorry shape. People growing up here are as likely to leave the state as stay, while out-of-staters show little inclination to move in. In 1930, after its last decade of prosperity, Pennsylvania recorded 9.5 million residents; today, the number stands at 11.5 million. The growth rate represents the smallest among the nation's 10 largest states. So Pennsylvania, once the nation's second-largest state, will, by 1980, slip to forth or perhaps fifth, behind California, New York, Texas, and maybe Illinois. In 1950, Pennsylvania could claim 32 seats in the House of Representatives. Today it has only 25, just one more than Texas or Illinois.

In politics, Pennsylvania is divided into two parts, east and west. East of the Appalachian ranges, the state leans slightly Republican, even though heavy Democratic margins usually come out of Philadelphia and industrial towns like Scranton, Wilkes-Barre, and Reading. The main source of Republican strength in eastern Pennsylvania is found in the suburbs of Philadelphia and the Pennsylvania Dutch country around Lancaster and York. Some 25 years ago, the Republican preferences of eastern Pennsylvania were more pronounced. Philadelphia was then still the stronghold of an aging, old-time Republican city machine. The power of the organization was broken, however, in 1951, when Joseph Clark was elected Mayor. Clark then went on to serve in the U.S. Senate from 1957 to 1969.

Western Pennsylvania leans Democratic. Despite the connecting link of the bankrupt Penn Central (once the thriving and politically powerful Pennsylvania Railroad), the state west of the mountains constitutes an economic unit quite separate from Pennsylvania east of the mountains. Western Pennsylvania is part of the coal-and-steel empire that also encompasses parts of northeast Ohio and northern West Virginia. Like Philadelphia, Pittsburgh casts heavy Democratic margins; unlike its counterpart, however, the Pittsburgh suburbs and the small-town and rural areas beyond the city also go Democratic. Organized labor is especially powerful in western Pennsylvania, which is one of the most unionized regions of the entire country. Pittsburgh's Democratic machine, under mayors Joseph Barr and David Lawrence (Governor from 1959 to 1962), was once the mainstay of the state Democratic party. But in 1969, insurgent reform candidate Peter Flaherty captured the Mayor's office, leaving the Pittsburgh machine in decline.

A similar thing has happened to the governorship. A dozen years ago, the state of Pennsylvania had 50,000 patronage employees, appointed for the most part on the recommendations of local party machines. The number was whittled down by Republican Gov. (1963–66) William Scranton and his successor (1967–70), Raymond Shafer, and cut down even further by the current incumbent, Democrat Milton Shapp. A millionaire businessman, Shapp ran a heavy media campaign in 1966, beat the Democratic organization candidate, and almost defeated Shafer in the general election. Four years later, Shapp beat the organization in the primary once again, and this time pulverized the Republican nominee. Shapp had even less use for patronage jobs than Scranton, another rich man. The Democrat's victory was due largely to campaing consultant Joe Napolitan and middle-class volunteers, none of whom was interested in $8,500 a year sinecures in Harrisburg.

By some accounts, Shapp has served as an effective Governor. He has streamlined the state bureaucracies somewhat and hired an Insurance Commissioner named Herbert Denenberg, a professor at the University of Pennsylvania. Denenberg has since won a great deal of national publicity as the scourge of insurance companies. Shapp, the first Pennsylvania Governor eligible for a second term, will be running again in 1974, perhaps against liberal Republican Congressman John Heinz of suburban Pittsburgh (who is also a prime Senate candidate if Hugh Scott decides to retire in 1976). Another possible candidate is Philadelphia Mayor Frank Rizzo. In mid-1973 he looked like a formidable opponent, whose strength could not be fully gauged. Rizzo still likes being known as the nation's toughest cop, and he stepped into the Mayoralty, with the aid of Peter Camiel's Democratic machine, from his position as Police Commissioner. (See Pennsylvania 3 for more detail.) Rizzo won with the overwhelming percentage of white votes and he did particularly well in the Italian wards; there has never been an Italian-American Mayor or even an Italian-American Congressman from Philadelphia.

But in 1972, Rizzo broke with Camiel, in large part because the Mayor—long before McGovern was nominated—endorsed Richard Nixon for reelection, calling him the greatest President in our history. Then, in 1973, Camiel charged that Rizzo had offered him control over certain city contracts in return for Camiel's support of Rizzo's candidate for District Attorney. Rizzo denied the charges, and when the Philadelphia *Daily News* suggested that he and Camiel both take a lie detector test, they both accepted. Camiel passed; Rizzo flunked. Before the test the Mayor had said, "If this machine says a man lied, he lied."Afterwards, he nonetheless insisted he had been telling the truth. The incident could not help but hurt Rizzo's image, although he, like Mayoral candidate Mario Biaggi in New York, probably retains a great following among Italian-American voters. (See New York 10.) But it is hard to see Rizzo now defeating incumbent Shapp in the Democratic primary, or being welcomed into the Republican party, or running successfully as an Independent. If he does decide to make the race, he will have to resign as Mayor under the terms of Philadelphia's city charter.

From the Civil War until the Great Depression, Pennsylvania was one of the nation's most Republican states, thanks in large part to the clout wielded by the officers of the Pennsylvania Railroad and the owners of various steel mills and coal mines—and a competent old-fashioned Republican machine. The state even went for Hoover in 1932. Though far less conservative than it was in its heyday, the Pennsylvania Republican party remains well organized and tightly controlled. Though the party was unable to carry the state in any of the presidential elections of the 1960s, it was able to unseat the very liberal Sen. Joseph Clark in 1968. The Republican who beat him was Richard Schweiker, then a young (42) and relatively unknown Congressman from the Philadelphia suburbs. In some ways, however, it was Clark who lost, not Schweiker who won the election. In his second term, Clark had antagonized many of the state's large number of Italian-American voters, and his support of gun-control legislation attracted the wrath of the nation's gun lobby.

But today Schweiker is a well-established political figure in his own right. His voting record in the Senate has been markedly more liberal than it was in the House. And though he serves on the Armed Services Committee (as he did in House), Schweiker supported end-the-war legislation and cutbacks in military spending. The Senator looks like he is in fine shape for 1974, when his seat is up. By the spring of 1973, he had already gotten the support of organized labor—he is one of the very few Republican Senators with a 100% rating from COPE—and he enjoys the backing of antiwar liberals as well. Moreover, the state's Republican party is solidly behind him; his dissents from various Nixon positions look far better now than they did before the Watergate scandal. The only question remaining is the identity of the Democrat Schweiker will beat. One possible candidate is acerbic Insurance Commissioner Denenberg, who could at least make the campaign interesting.

Pennsylvania's senior Senator is Hugh Scott, the late Everett Dirksen's successor as Senate Minority Leader. Scott has won a number of elections under unlikely circumstances. From 1943 to 1959, he was a Congressman from Philadelphia, serving as Republican National Chairman of the Dewey campaign in 1948. Scott then chose the Democratic year of 1958 to run for the Senate, perhaps thinking that his House seat would be wiped out after the 1960 census; he got enough voters to split tickets to win. In 1964, the Goldwater candidacy appeared to doom his career, but Senator Scott again squeaked by with a narrow 70,000-vote margin. Scott won all these elections running as a liberal Republican, paying special court to the Jewish and black communities.

The Pennsylvanian is one of the Senate's consummate and suave politicians, able to gloss over inconsistencies and present his side of the story in the strongest possible terms. So despite his

reputation as a liberal Republican, he managed to win the post of Majority Leader over the more conservative Howard Baker, then a freshman, by a 24-19 vote. The narrow margin—Baker challenged him again in 1971 with similar results—and the positions taken by the Nixon Administration put Scott in many a nasty bind.

The Senator antagonized the Administration and Senate conservatives when he opposed the Haynsworth nomination and Nixon's proposed changes in the Voting Rights Act. Mostly, however, Scott upset some of his erstwhile backers in Pennsylvania when he supported the Carswell nomination, the ABM, the SST, and opposed a fixed Vietnam withdrawal date. As Nixon stock went rising in the polls during 1971 and 1972, Scott came down on the side of the Administration virtually every time, but he proved adept at slipping out of positions when politically desirable. For example, he voted to install Carswell after the most prolonged and searching Senate debate over a Supreme Court nominee in recent history; after the vote, Scott then blithely turned around and called the judge a racist and admitted to his constituents that he should never have supported him. By early 1973, the Senator had for months supported the Administration's bombing of Cambodia; but after the Senate voted overwhelmingly to stop it, Scott announced that he could support the bombing no longer—starting June 30, then a few weeks off. Scott is a shameless practitioner of such serpentine twisting and turning, a form of political behavior that he justifies with the same urbane aplomb with which he appraises Chinese vases (on which he is an expert).

Because of Scott'e stature in Washington, analysts assumed he would win easy reelection in 1970. As it turned out, the would-be landslide wound up a rather close contest. An obscure state Senator from Erie, a city located in the far northwest corner of the state, managed to hold the Senate Minority Leader down to 52% of the votes. But it was the first time that a Pennsylvania Senator had ever won a third term from the voters, and it occurred just a few days before Scott's 70th birthday. So Scott, a man who does not look his age, will be 76 when his seat comes up in 1976. That year, being the bicentennial in Pennsylvania, Scott might like to cap his career with one final victory. Lately, American voters have not eagerly reelected septugenarian Senators, but the political graveyards of Pennsylvania are full of people who have underestimated Hugh Scott.

In 1970, for the first time since the days of James Buchanan, Pennsylvania Democrats controlled the governorship and the legislature. But because of feuds between Gov. Shapp and Philadelphia boss Peter Camiel, there was no partisan Democratic gerrymadering effected. Instead, the Democrats retained a one-Congressman edge in the state's House delegation, one that they have held since 1966. In 1972, there were no upsets in House races, despite the big Nixon sweep in the state.

Because of Pennsylvania's small population growth during the 1960s, the state lost two House seats. The two eliminated were easily chosen. Two suburban Pittsburgh districts held by 30-year Republican veterans, Robert Corbett and James Fulton, were combined into a single district. Both men had died in 1971. And in population-losing Philadelphia, the machine decided that the seat held by William J. Green III was the one to get the axe. In 1971, Green had the temerity to run against the organization's choice, Frank Rizzo, in the 1971 mayoral primary. As it turned out, Green retained his House seat despite the enmity of the machine. Otherwise, the redistricting in Pennsylvania worked out as expected.

**Census Data** Pop. 11,793,909; 5.83% of U.S. total, 3rd largest; change 1960–70, 4.2%. Central city, 29%; suburban, 51%. Median family income, $9,554; 20th highest; families above $15,000: 18%; families below $3,000: 8%. Median years education, 12.0.

**1972 Share of Federal Tax Burden** $12,227,580,000; 5.85% of U.S. total, 4th largest.

**1972 Share of Federal Outlays** $9,908,450,054; 4.57% of U.S. total, 4th largest. Per capita federal spending, $840.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DOD | $2,436,185,000 | 6th (3.90%) | HEW | $4,365,278,855 | 3rd (6.11%) |
| AEC | $103,729,027 | 10th (3.96%) | HUD | $199,422,847 | 3rd (6.50%) |
| NASA | $68,096,173 | 10th (2.28%) | VA | $620,402,299 | 4th (5.42%) |
| DOT | $282,796,804 | 8th (3.59%) | USDA | $224,323,341 | 28th (1.46%) |
| DOC | $16,597,227 | 19th (1.28%) | CSC | $188,966,907 | 6th (4.59%) |
| DOI | $70,820,911 | 8th (3.34%) | TD | $507,062,382 | 6th (3.07%) |
| DOJ | $22,726,383 | 13th (2.31%) | Other | $802,041,898 | |

**Economic Base** Primary metal industries, especially blast furnaces and steel mills; finance, insurance and real estate; apparel and other textile products, especially women's and misses' outerwear; machinery; electrical equipment and supplies, especially electronic components and accessories; fabricated metal products, especially fabricated structural metal products; food and kindred products, especially bakery products.

**Political Line-up** Governor, Milton J. Shapp (D); seat up, 1974. Senators, Hugh Scott (R) and Richard S. Schweiker (R). Representatives, 25 (13 D and 12 R). State Senate (25 D, 24 R, and 1 vac.); State House (105 R, 96 D, and 2 Ind.).

**The Voters**

*Registration* 5,849,082 Total. 2,977,631 D (51%); 2,689,620 R (46%); 181,831 other (3%).
*Median voting age* 45.3
*Employment profile* White collar, 45%. Blue collar, 42%. Service, 12%. Farm, 1%.
*Ethnic groups* Black, 9%. Total foreign stock, 18%. Italy, 4%, Poland, Germany, UK, 2% each; USSR, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Ireland, 1% each.

*Presidential vote*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *1972* | Nixon (R) | 2,714,521 | (60%) |
| | McGovern (D) | 1,796,951 | (40%) |
| *1968* | Nixon (R) | 2,090,017 | (44%) |
| | Humphrey (D) | 2,259,405 | (48%) |
| | Wallace (AI) | 378,582 | (8%) |
| *1964* | Johnson (D) | 3,130,954 | (65%) |
| | Goldwater (R) | 1,673,657 | (35%) |

**Senator**

**Richard Schultz Schweiker** (R) Elected 1968, seat up 1974; b. June 1, 1926, Norristown; home, Worcester; Penn. State U., B.A., 1950; Navy, WWII; married, five children; Central Schwenkfelder Church.

*Career* Business executive, 1950–60; U.S. House, 1961–69.

*Offices* 6221 NSOB, 202-225-4254. Also 2001 Fed. Office Bldg., 1000 Liberty Ave., Pittsburgh 15222, 412-644-3400, and 4048 U.S. Courthouse, 9th and Chestnut, Philadelphia 19107, 215-597-7200.

*Administrative Assistant* David Newhall III

**Committees**

*Appropriations* (10th); Subs: Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and Related Agencies; Legislative; Public Works-AEC; Transportation; Military Construction (Ranking Mbr.).

*Labor and Public Welfare* (3rd); Subs: Education; Labor; Railroad Retirement (Ranking Mbr.); Alcoholism and Narcotics (Ranking Mbr.); Aging; Health (Ranking Mbr.); Employment, Poverty, and Migratory Labor; Handicapped.

*Sel. Com. on Nutrition and Human Needs* (5th).

*Joint Economic Com.* (4th); Subs: Economic Progress; Fiscal Policy; Inter-American Economic Relationships; Priorities and Economy in Government.

**Group Ratings**

| | ADA | COPE | LWV | RIPON | NFU | LCV | CFA | NAB | NSI | ACA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1972 | 60 | 100 | 100 | 88 | 70 | 79 | 100 | 42 | 70 | 27 |
| 1971 | 70 | 50 | 100 | 78 | 82 | – | 86 | – | – | 33 |
| 1970 | 75 | 100 | – | 77 | 81 | 60 | – | 25 | 20 | 29 |

**Key Votes**

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1) Busing | FOR | 8) Sea Life Prot | FOR | 15) Tax Singls Less | FOR |
| 2) Alas P-line | FOR | 9) Campaign Subs | AGN | 16) Min Tax for Rich | AGN |
| 3) Gun Cntrl | AGN | 10) Cmbodia Bmbg | AGN | 17) Euro Troop Rdctn | AGN |
| 4) Rehnquist | FOR | 11) Legal Srvices | FOR | 18) Bust Hwy Trust | FOR |
| 5) Pub TV $ | FOR | 12) Rev Sharing | FOR | 19) Maid Min Wage | FOR |
| 6) EZ Votr Reg | FOR | 13) Cnsumr Prot | FOR | 20) Farm Sub Limit | FOR |
| 7) No-Fault | FOR | 14) Eq Rts Amend | FOR | 21) Highr Credt Chgs | AGN |

**Election Results**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1968 general: | Richard S. Schwicker (R) | 2,399,762 | (52%) |
| | Joseph S. Clark (D) | 2,117,662 | (46%) |
| | Frank W. Gaydosh (Const.) | 96,742 | (2%) |
| 1968 primary: | Richard S. Schweiker (R), unopposed | | |